

# VOTES FOR WOMEN

EDITED BY FREDERICK AND EMMELINE PETHICK LAWRENCE

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## "ON A SLIPPERY SLOPE"



If the Unionist Leaders are in danger of slipping, have not the Government already slipped by imprisoning Suffragists and allowing Sir Edward Carson to go free?

"I have deprecated as much as any man the breach of the law by people who are fighting for the franchise for women, but I ask if Mr. Bonar Law ever comes into power, what moral right will he have to punish these people for breaches of the law? . . . The Unionist leaders are on a slippery slope, and they themselves have most to lose by it."—Mr. Lloyd George at Huddersfield on March 21, 1914.)

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### DEDICATION

To the brave women who to-day are fighting for freedom: to the noble women who all down the ages kept the flag flying and looked forward to this day without seeing it: to all women all over the world, of whatever race, or creed, or calling, whether they be with us or against us in this fight, we dedicate this paper.

### THE OUTLOOK

Universal censure is being poured to-day upon the heads of the members of the Government. Liberals, Labour Men, Redmondites, and Unionists are vying with one another in their vigour of reproach.

#### The Government Found Out

What is the reason for this chorus of denunciation? It is simply that the true character of this Government is being found out. The qualities which we

have observed in their dealings with women have now come to the front in their dealings with men. We have accused them of certain cardinal vices—of political opportunism, of cowardice, of deliberate breach of faith, of underhand treachery, of supplying false information, of filching away the traditional liberties of the subject, of being respecters of persons, of preferring in all things party advantage to the good of the State. Our words have fallen on deaf ears so far as a large part of the country are concerned, but at length the truth of our accusation is becoming realised.

#### Party Advantage or Human Life

We have never in this paper taken any sides in the Irish controversy and we do not intend to do so now, but it is not necessary to take sides to realise the heinousness of the crimes committed by the Government. Whether the Government were right or wrong in thinking that the Home Rule Bill could be carried unaltered, it must be patent to everyone that they adopted wholly wrong methods to secure that result. If they desired to crush opposition in Ulster by vigour, they ought to have struck a blow at Sir Edward Carson before, and not after, he had raised an army. But it is clear that the political risk to themselves which his arrest two years ago would have involved weighed more heavily with them

than the possibility of shedding the blood of hundreds, perhaps thousands, of men last week.

#### Respecters of Persons

The refusal to arrest Sir Edward Carson, the arrest of Mr. Tom Mann and Mr. George Lansbury, the repeated arrests of the Pankhursts, the repeated arrests and torture by forcible feeding of the rank and file of the militant suffragists, mark variations in the administration of justice, determined not in the slightest degree by the magnitude of the crime committed, but solely by considerations of political expediency. Other examples could be given without number of the ways in which the Government have debased the execution of the law for party ends; but to realise the full story it would be necessary to retrace the whole history of the suffrage agitation for the past nine years.

#### The Political Outlook

As we write, the political situation changes from day to day and almost from hour to hour, and it is impossible to utter a prediction which may not be immediately falsified by the event. But we desire emphatically to warn our readers to be prepared for an early general election, for so discredited are the Government by the recent revelations that an immediate break up and resignation is a possible, if not

a probable, result, while in any case the appeal to the electorate is not likely to be long delayed.

#### The Attitude of Women

When that day comes the Government will have only themselves to thank for the fact that they will go into the electoral conflict without the support of many who have been their most valuable allies in the past. We hope that there will be a wholesale strike on the part of the women of the Liberal Party, and that no sense of pity will deter them from their obvious duty. It is not a question of taking revenge (which Christian charity might bid them to forego), but of striking a blow on behalf of the downtrodden of their sex. Women who will not stand shoulder to shoulder to resent the trickery and the betrayal of womanhood by the Liberal Party, will be showing themselves to be disloyal to one another and unworthy of the great heritage of human freedom which belongs to the traditions of the British race.

#### "The Times" Defends Law Breaking

A remarkable leading article in the *Times* of Wednesday last concludes with a frank defence of law-breaking:—

The Ulstermen announce their intention of refusing to obey a law to which they object. Anybody might suppose, from the cries of horror raised by those responsible for this law and by their supporters, that refusal to obey a law had never been heard of before. There are many laws which are so generally disobeyed that no attempt is made to enforce them.

It is a great mistake to pass laws which people will not obey. It brings all law into contempt. There are limits placed by human nature, and Governments which are so foolish as to overstep them find themselves brought up against forces too strong for the rules which govern ordinary conduct within those limits.

This is what we have said from the commencement of the suffrage agitation, and for this we have been chidden by the *Times* and by other Unionist papers. Now, when it serves their own turn, they put forward the same arguments and defend them with complete sangfroid. We reprint the passage in full on page 400.

#### The Rights of Irishwomen

Sir Edward Carson received on Monday a deputation of women representing the Irish Women's Suffrage Federation; they reminded him of his promise that the municipal register (which includes women) should form the basis of the Ulster provisional Government, and asked whether he was prepared to demand that the same register should be taken as the basis in any settlement of the Home Rule crisis. To this Sir Edward replied in the negative, saying he himself was not a suffragist, and the Unionist Party were divided on the question. How like this reply is to Mr. Asquith's stock answers to suffragist deputations!

#### The Referendum on Exclusion

The second question related to the proposed referendum to be taken as to exclusion from the Home Rule Bill. The women asked that if Sir Edward Carson accepted this proposal in any form, he should stipulate that the referendum should be on the municipal register, so as to include the women's vote. Sir Edward said that he would like to consider the question. We shall await with interest the result of his consideration. In the meanwhile, we hope that the Ulster women, who, equally with the men, are prepared to risk everything on the result of the struggle, will take every means of expressing to him their determination to share in deciding the issue.

#### A Possible Bill in the House of Lords

Lord Selborne is credited by the Press with the intention of introducing into the House of Lords a Bill to enfranchise women on the basis of the Conciliation Bill. We confess to a misgiving as to the wisdom of these tactics, for the acceptance or rejection of a franchise Bill by the Lords will equally serve as an argument to a Liberal House of Commons for refusing to have anything to do with it. Perhaps Lord Selborne himself has come to the same conclusion (or the rumour may have been entirely without foundation), for the Bill was not introduced on the date which the Press had predicted, and up to the present nothing has been heard of it.

#### Prisons and Prisoners

Suffragists who have more than a bowing acquaintance with the police courts will do well to examine very closely the Bill dealing with prisons and prisoners introduced by Mr. McKenna into the House of Commons on Tuesday in last week. No adequate description of the clauses of this Bill has appeared in the Press, and unless we are very much mistaken an attempt will be made, on account of some good provisions which it contains, to rush it through into law without due scrutiny of several

very dangerous innovations. We direct attention in particular to four startling proposals which we set out in our description of the Bill on page 392.

#### Fines Without Option of Imprisonment

The first of these concerns the powers given to police magistrates to have prisoners searched for money on their persons or to order distress to be levied on their goods or money elsewhere for payment of fines, and thereby to refuse them the option of going to prison. As ordinary criminals will undoubtedly prefer a payment of money to imprisonment, it will be seen that this provision is aimed directly at men and women who are making a protest for conscience sake. This Liberal Government hopes to separate rich and poor in a political agitation by sending the poor to prison and inflicting fines upon the rich. Had this Bill been law when Lady Constance Lytton was imprisoned, no doubt it would have been put into operation to prevent her from placing herself alongside of the other prisoners. We predict, however, that it will fail, just as Lady Constance Lytton, by adopting the *sobriquet* of Jane Warton, circumvented Mr. Herbert Gladstone in his attempt to differentiate at a later stage of prison discipline.

#### Costs of the Prosecution

Another proposal of the Bill is the extension of the law by which a prisoner can be made liable for the costs of the prosecution as well as the costs of the defence. Hitherto this has only applied to trials before a judge and jury; it is now to be extended to cases in the police courts. It will be remembered that we raised our protest against the original law when it was applied to the case of one of the editors of this paper—Mr. Pethick Lawrence—who was called on to pay about £1,100 on account of the prosecution of Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Lawrence and himself. The ground of our objection was that the law was not reciprocal. A successful defence does not secure the right to reimbursement from the prosecution for expenses incurred, while a successful prosecution can claim reimbursement from the prisoner. Our original objections apply with still greater force to the extension of the statute.

#### Police Courts to be Used as Prisons

An amazing proposition contained in the Bill is that by which it is ordained that sentences of four days and under shall be served in the police-court cells instead of in the prison. To those who have experienced a night in the police-court cells, with their filthy insanitary condition, the constant surveillance of the police, with only one woman—an utterly downtrodden and subservient "matron"—in attendance, the idea that men, let alone women, should be shut up for three days and nights in them appears an outrage on every sense of decency.

#### Limiting Trial by Jury

Another provision of the Bill showing a highly dangerous tendency is the increase of the jurisdiction of police courts to offences of greater magnitude with the option of inflicting heavier fines. This is directly contrary to the protests which we have made from time to time in this paper. We have emphasised the slipshod methods of the police courts, the partiality of magistrates to police evidence, their disregard of clear testimony brought forward by the general public. Instead of limiting the powers of the police courts the Home Secretary proposes to widen them. He proposes, in effect, to abolish trial by jury in all these cases which he brings into his purview. We hope that a vigorous protest will be made against this proposed alteration, which strikes at the foundations of the liberty of the people of this country.

#### Equal Pay for Equal Work

We publish this week, in further discussion of the question of equal pay for equal work, two important letters, one from Miss Eva Gore-Booth, in which she gives facts with regard to the situation in the Post Office in Canada, which she compares with that in the English Post Office, and the other from Miss Isitt, who quotes facts culled from her own experience in Sydney (Australia). From these letters our readers will realise the importance of withdrawing the restrictions at present resting on women, in order to secure to them a fair remuneration for their labour. But this is not likely to be brought about till women get the vote.

#### Events in America

The U.S.A. Senate has rejected the equal suffrage amendment by 34 votes to 33 (a two-thirds majority being required for effective action). This result is a disappointment to suffragists, but is attributable largely to the refusal of the Senator who had charge of the motion to delay the vote as he had

been requested to do by the women. Meanwhile the State Senate of Massachusetts has carried the equal suffrage amendment for the State by the overwhelming majority of 94 to 2. The special importance of the vote lies in the fact that Massachusetts is an Eastern State, and contains the great city of Boston.

#### Immigration of English Suffragettes

Another matter of interest is the discussion in Congress of an Immigration Bill containing a special clause for the exclusion of persons who have taken part by precept or example in damage to property. This is recognised to be aimed directly at English militant suffragists. Americans point out that under the provisions of this Bill nearly all the great revolutionaries of the past, including those who sank the tea in Boston Harbour, would have been shut out from the States, and call attention to the fact that those who have been found guilty of much more serious crimes against the person are not excluded. Up to the time of going to press no news of the final vote on the measure had reached this paper.

#### Items of Interest

A deputation of Glasgow citizens has waited on the Glasgow magistrates to protest against the action of the police at Mrs. Pankhurst's meeting. The magistrates are considering their reply.

Miss Sylvia Pankhurst led a body of several thousand East End women to Westminster Abbey last Sunday; as they were shut out of the Abbey a service was held outside, at which a clergyman officiated. Perfect order prevailed, and special prayers for suffragist prisoners were offered up.

A woman's church has been inaugurated, Miss Hetty Baker preaching the first sermon. Exceptional interest has been taken in this new expression of the women's movement.

The Mayor of Blackburn is laying before the Watch Committee of that town a proposal to appoint police-women; after the example of several of the States in America.

Mrs. Humphry Ward has put forward a proposal for a nominated Advisory Council of Women to advise M.P.'s on legislation affecting women and children. This proposal has naturally been scouted by suffragists as futile and injurious.

We publish further correspondence on the question, "Should Women Ride Astride?" in which several of our correspondents show up the prejudice which underlies the assumption by men that they can dictate to women on matters of this character.

The New York State Commission has reported in favour of immediate legislation to give pensions to widowed mothers. This result is due to the success of similar schemes in the suffrage States.

### THE FASHION FOR CHIFFON TAFFETA DANCE FROCKS



Evening Gown (as sketch) in French Chiffon Taffeta, arranged with daintily draped skirt and two shaped trills. Bodice chiefly composed of fine lace with shoulder straps of tulle. In black and soft evening shades 51 Gus.

**Debenham & Freebody**  
Wigmore Street, London, W.

# SHOULD WOMEN RIDE ASTRIDE?

More Expert Opinions from Different Points of View—Majority in Favour of the Cross Saddle—The "Lancet" is Progressive

We publish below a further selection of correspondence on the important question of the best seat for women riders. From this it will be seen that amidst a considerable divergence of opinion upon the general issue, two essential points emerge; firstly, the rebuttal on high medical grounds of the attempt to prove that riding astride is likely to cause injury to women; and secondly, the refusal of women to accept as binding on them the ready-made opinions of men based on prejudice clothed in scientific language.

The question is one to be decided in each case by the individual woman (or by the parent when the rider is a child) in consultation, if necessary, with medical opinion. And the fact of the enormous growth of the custom of riding astride, testified to by all our correspondents, makes it exceedingly probable that this method is, on the whole, beneficial both to horse and rider.

The *Lancet*, gives medical reasons showing that there is no real basis for the fear that riding astride will injure women's vital organs, and goes on to say:—

"Our objections to riding astride for women, if we were asked our opinion, would be based, not upon any possible danger of injuries to the pelvic organs, but upon the view that the seat is not nearly so secure a one for the average woman rider as that on a side-saddle, and because the danger of being thrown is much greater. At the same time, the risk of being dragged if thrown is certainly less, although, as we have pointed out, with a properly made safety habit and stirrup even on a side-saddle this risk is a very small one."

## MR. H. D. HARBEN

The question of the best seat for a woman on horseback can be approached from the point of view of safety, of health, and of appearance.

There can be little doubt that the side-saddle gives a safer seat in the sense that the rider is not so easily thrown from her horse. But the average woman does not ride wild horses; she hacks or hunts an animal that is comparatively easy to sit. If she falls in the hunting field, she usually falls with her horse; and in such a case the side-saddle is horribly dangerous, and the woman who rides astride is far more likely to fall clear of her horse and escape injury. For ordinary purposes, then, I consider it is safer to ride astride; and it is certainly far easier for the horse, to whom a side-saddle is a considerable handicap.

The question of health is primarily one for the doctors; but this, too, depends on what kind of riding the woman intends to do. My little girl has hunted with me for four seasons, and after taking medical advice I taught her to ride astride for the following reasons. I was advised that long hours on horseback are injurious to a growing girl, whichever way she rides, and perhaps to a full-grown woman as well; but that the harm of riding astride too long is far the greater of the two. On the other hand, there is the danger that frequently riding side-saddle, even for a short time, may induce curvature of the spine, unless the seat is perfectly straight, which it seldom is. This danger cannot be avoided by avoiding long hours and over fatigue; whereas the risk of internal injury resulting from riding astride is only appreciable if the position is maintained too long, or if the horse is difficult to sit. And in such a case there is a similar, though less serious, risk to a growing boy.

To sum up, my view is that in the exceptional case where a woman takes the risk of riding for very long hours or on very difficult horses, she had better ride side-saddle. But for ordinary purposes of hacking and hunting, she is safer and more comfortable riding astride, provided, of course, that she is fairly slim of build and not too short in the leg. Otherwise she will probably prefer the side-saddle on grounds of appearance; and in such a case appearance will be a safe guide.

Henry D. Harben.

## A RIDING-MISTRESS'S VIEW

Mrs. McBride, of the West End Riding School, writes:—

I am not in favour of it. It is quite a good thing for children up to a certain age, as sufficient care is

not usually taken when first teaching young girls in the side-saddle.

I have hunted a great deal, and I must say that I have never seen a woman riding astride who has had the same grip, or could ride a difficult horse over fences with the ease and safety, especially if he is given to refusing, or to in any way compare with a good horsewoman on a side-saddle.

If ladies were properly placed in the saddle at the commencement and taught by experienced and competent teachers there would be no crooked riders and no sore backs.

Many of the ladies in the Row at the present day seem to care little how they look and less how they are mounted.

Violet McBride.

## THE HON. MRS. HAVERFIELD

I notice in the *Times* of March 16 a letter by a medical correspondent, in which he says:—

It is no exaggeration to say that a woman who habitually rides astride endangers her health and courts disaster. The strain accompanying the new "seat" tends to displace certain vital organs, or at least to render their supports insecure, &c.

Not to put too fine a point, this statement is untrue, like many others. A woman grips with the inside muscles of her legs just like a man. Surely common sense tells us it must be better and more healthy to sit for long hours in a natural position than in a cramped and false one. I have ridden and hunted in a side-saddle until I was 40, and for reasons of health have used for some years a cross-saddle, with great advantage to myself and horses. Could your medical correspondent see the sore backs caused by side-saddles he might change his point of view, though I fear prejudice is not so easily killed.

May I add that I have various young married friends who produce very healthy children in spite of riding and hunting astride, and are still happily continuing to do so, and merely smile at letters like the Kaiser's recent effusion and opinions such as our medical friend's.

Women of character will continue to ride astride, drive motors, travel and explore alone, be soldiers, and do all the things we are continually told are against nature, &c. They will also have children or not as they choose, in spite of medical men, bachelor bishops, and all the rest of the antediluvian crowd who look upon women as mere breeding machines. Finally, may I suggest to all medical men and others who are so concerned about our population that they would be doing more useful work by a serious and combined effort towards improving the morals of their own sex and stamping out disease caused by vice, which is far more detrimental to the future of our race than even admitting, for the sake of argument, his assertions.

## A WRITER ON HORSE-RIDING

A riding-mistress, who is also an author of books on the subject, writes to us as follows:—

I have made a study of the differences between side-saddle riding and cross-saddle riding lasting over many years, so perhaps a few remarks on the subject of why I consider the side-saddle seat the best for women may possibly be of interest to some of your readers.

From the safety point of view.—The cross-saddle is a far less secure seat than the side; the cross rider, when doing any hard riding, will part company with her horse more easily and oftener than the side rider. The number of falls from the cross-saddle being multiplied, the risk of injury to the rider is greater in consequence. An argument is often brought forward that the cross rider, when she does come off—being free from pommels—falls clearer than the side rider. This certainly is so, but I prefer to ride in the style in which I am least likely to come off at all. There are occasional accidents in the hunting field when the rider is pinned beneath her fallen horse, which accident might not have happened had she been in a cross-saddle, but these are very rare considering the number of women who follow hounds in the side-saddle. The argument that the side rider runs risks of being hung up and dragged from her skirt or her stirrup may be said to be quite dead, for no one who values her life would follow hounds without a safe skirt and stirrup (I say "safe skirt" because some of those called "safety" are only so in name).

From the point of view of injury to the rider caused by one or other of the styles of riding.—The cross rider, having the looser seat of the two, must necessarily put greater strain on, and cause more fatigue to, her muscles in order to keep her seat when sitting a restive horse or jumping. I do not consider it wise, therefore, to run risks which might cause injury to certain organs by riding cross-saddle for anything but hacking on a quiet horse.

I find that for teaching, where I have a great deal of quiet work on the road (and to teach well one must ride a quiet horse), the cross-saddle is the more convenient of the two, and perhaps it causes less fatigue and muscular strain when used for this purpose than the side; but when going across country where there is jumping I do the opposite—I ride side-saddle in order to get the same result, viz., less fatigue and muscular strain.

There are, I am sorry to say, a great many side-saddle riders who have a "crooked" seat, and who carry the right hip higher than the left, which causes the spine to be pushed into an unnatural curve. I should like to make it quite clear that this is not necessary. If the rider be properly taught her hips are always of equal height, and her spine has no more side curve than that of a cross-saddle rider. Because there are many women who ride badly in the side-saddle is no blame to that style of riding, but to the bad riders in it. I cannot see that there is any danger of curvature or any injury to the spine being caused by side riding if women learn to sit as they should.

## Eva Christy

(Author of "Modern Side-saddle Riding," &c.)

## A DOCTOR'S VIEW

A general practitioner of thirty years' experience writes:—

Cross-saddle riding is, from a medical point of view, less "dangerous" to a healthy woman than the heavy and exhausting toil which is the lot of the average working man's wife. If this were the only "danger" to which women were exposed in the course of their work or play, they would not have much to complain about. As for the absence of a pommel to hang on to in moments of crisis, they must chance that. The mane is left to them.

M.R.C.S.

## A HABIT MAKER'S EXPERIENCE

Messrs. J. R. Dale, the well-known tailors, write:—As old-established habit makers, we find that where, say, ten years ago there was only a very small proportion of ladies ordering the astride habits, at the present day we receive about an equal number of orders for the side-saddle and astride.

Astride riding for ladies was first introduced from America, and took the form of a double skirt with coat, which was never really comfortable to the wearer, and had not a smart appearance. This style was eventually superseded by a longer coat, coming well below the boot tops, and worn with riding breeches; and although there was considerable outcry against this "masculine" fashion, the habit in this form has outlived opposition, and, in fact, has further developed in a shorter coat and breeches, cut on precisely similar lines to those worn by gentlemen riders, even to the details of laced or buttoned knees and leather strappings.

The demands of our customers for the last year or two have caused us to produce a three-piece habit, suitable for both astride and side-saddle, this being composed of a three-quarter length coat, breeches and apron, and this seems to have met requirements, as it gives at the same time a safe and comfortable seat, and presents a very smart riding kit. The majority of our orders for the astride habit come from America and the Colonies, but, apart from these, the balance of opinion in this country still seems to favour the side-saddle, but a small proportion of the orders received from the recognised hunting centres being for the coat and breeches.

J. R. Dale and Co., Ltd.

## ANOTHER DOCTOR'S OPINION

A well-known physician, in the course of a letter on the subject, writes to us:—

One other thing might be mentioned. If a horse rears and falls back, the side-saddle woman is doomed, as I have known on more than one occasion. It is her death warrant. The one riding astride has a chance.

# PRISONERS OF THE STATE

Home Office Bill—Present Treatment of Political Prisoners—Lady Constance Lytton and Prison Reform—Message from Olive Schreiner

## PRISONERS' BILL

Dangerous New Proposals Put Forward by Mr. McKenna

Several very serious changes in the administration of justice are involved in the new Bill introduced by Mr. McKenna into the House of Commons on Tuesday in last week.

In the introductory paragraph the Bill is described in the following unobtrusive language as one "to diminish the number of cases committed to prison, to amend the law with respect to the treatment and punishment of young offenders, and otherwise to improve the administration of criminal Justice." And most of the newspapers which have commented on the Bill have confined their attention to the early clauses by which magistrates are obliged to grant time for payment to persons who are sentenced to imprisonment with the option of a fine. But these clauses only form a very small part of the Bill. Other clauses of considerable importance to political offenders are the following:—

### Fine Without Option of Imprisonment

Clause 4 provides that where a person has been summarily convicted of any offence and sentenced to pay a sum of money, the court may order him to be searched, and that any money found on him when so searched or when taken to prison shall be applied towards the payment of the sum.

Clauses 4 and 24 also very widely extend the powers of police magistrates to enforce payment of fines by the issue of warrants of distress and other means so as to take either the money or goods of the offender. Where, therefore, a person of means is sentenced to fine or imprisonment in consequence of some political protest, the magistrate will have the power, in many cases, if not in all, to take the money from him instead of giving him the option of serving a sentence in prison.

### Prisoner to Pay Cost of Prosecution

Clause 10, Section 3, provides that the Costs in Criminal Cases Act, 1908, shall apply in the case of a person committed to prison by a court of summary jurisdiction (i.e., a police-court) under this section as if that person were committed for trial for an indictable offence.

It will be remembered that the original law was put into operation against Mr. Pethick Lawrence, who was called on to pay about £1,100 (and subsequently bankrupted on his refusal to pay), being the cost of prosecuting himself, and Mrs. Pankhurst and Mrs. Pethick Lawrence at the Old Bailey. The new Bill extends the application of this Statute to cases tried in the police courts.

### Police Cells as a Short-term Prison

Clause 13 makes the extraordinary proposition that police cells shall be used instead of regular prisons for sentences under five days. The words of the Bill with regard to this matter are as follows:—

(1) No person shall be sentenced to imprisonment by a court of summary jurisdiction for a period of less than five days.

(2) Where a person is liable to be sentenced to imprisonment by a court of summary jurisdiction, the court may, if any police cells, bridewells, or other suitable places provided and certified in manner hereinafter appearing are available for the purpose, order the person to be detained therein for such period not exceeding four days, as the court thinks fit.

### Increased Jurisdiction for Police Courts

Clause 14 gives the police magistrates wider powers than formerly, and enables them to deal in a police court with cases of damages up to £20 (instead of £5 as formerly), and to inflict fines up to £20. Persons charged with these larger offences will therefore be deprived of the advantage of a jury, and the generally more fair procedure of a trial before a judge.

Clause 16, Section 2, gives power to the "visiting committee on the application of the governor of the prison" to direct that a third-class prisoner shall be given the treatment of a second-class prisoner.

Clause 25, Section 2, provides that where His Majesty has been pleased to revoke the licence granted to any convict under the Penal Servitude Acts, 1853 to 1891, the convict shall thereupon be liable to be arrested without warrant by any con-

stable and brought before a court of summary jurisdiction, and the court on being satisfied that he is the convict named in the licence and that the licence has been revoked, shall commit him to prison and forthwith send notice to the Secretary of State.

Clause 28 provides that where a court of summary jurisdiction orders money to be paid periodically by one person to another, the court may, if it thinks fit, order that the payment shall be made through an officer of the court named in the order.

This clause, if carried and enforced, may be of service to women in enabling a maintenance order to be a reality and not a sham.

## QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

### Suffragist Prisoners in 1913-14

In a written answer to a question by Mr. Keir Hardie, the Home Secretary stated on March 18 that 163 women had been received into prisons in England and Wales during 1913 in connection with the suffragist agitation, and since January 1 of this year, twenty-three women. The number temporarily discharged under the Prisoners (Temporary Discharge for Ill-Health) Act up to March 16 was 42.

Particulars were then given in detail of their offences and the number of times they were re-arrested. The following are two typical instances in the list given by Mr. McKenna:—

One woman has committed seven offences and has been released under the Act five times. She has been brought back five times under fresh charges, and is now in prison.

One woman committed three offences. She was released under the Act three times, and was brought back once under the Act and once under a fresh charge.

And then Mr. McKenna says his Cat and Mouse Act is a complete success!

### Doing His Best!

On March 23, in reply to a question by Mr. Stuart-Wortley, asking that during their temporary release suffragists should be kept under constant observation by the police, Mr. McKenna said:—

There are almost insuperable difficulties in keeping persons of this class under constant observation, but the object the hon. gentleman has in view is borne well in mind.

### Are Hunger Strikers Drugged?

In answer to a question on March 19 by Mr. Astor, asking whether his attention had been called to statements made by Dr. Flora Murray and Mr. Frank Moxon, and whether Miss Phyllis Brady was given bromide or any other hypnotic drug whilst in Holloway, the Home Secretary said:—

The statements referred to were entirely

without foundation. Neither bromide nor any other hypnotic drug was given to Miss Brady while she was in Holloway.

In a written answer on March 20, to a question by Mr. Hunt, asking whether it had been found necessary to compel any of the hunger-striking prisoners to take any form of narcotic in order that they may not struggle when being forcibly fed, Mr. McKenna said:—

The answer is in the negative.

It will be observed that Mr. McKenna's denials would not cover any drug that could not strictly be called hypnotic or narcotic.

## DEPUTATION TO THE BISHOP OF BRISTOL

Following upon a recent deputation of the W.S.P.U. to the Bishop of Bristol on the subject of forcible feeding, the Bristol Executive of the New Constitutional

Society has addressed a strong letter to the *Bristol Times and Mirror*, dealing with the two reasons given by the Bishop to support his view that forcible feeding was justifiable. These were (1) Because the women supplied the "original causative." (2) Because they could at any moment bring it to an end by capitulation.

In regard to the first point the writers show that the origin of the hunger strike was the refusal of the Government to treat the women as political prisoners, and therefore the "original causative" could not be said to rest with the women. In regard to the second point, they show that the women adopt the hunger strike, however mistakenly, as a matter of principle; and they proceed to point out that this is as much as to say that "the Bishop of Bristol holds that a torture which he himself admits is detestable is permissible provided the conscientious scruples of the persons tortured are such with which he does not find himself in agreement."

## "PRISONS AND PRISONERS"

More Reviews of Lady Constance Lytton's Book  
MESSAGE FROM OLIVE SCHREINER

I have read "Prisons and Prisoners." Later I may have more to say, now I feel my only comment on it is, to everyone and anyone, "Read it!"

Leaving its connection with Woman's struggle entirely out, its value as an unconsciously drawn picture of a fearless, widely loving spirit, must, I think, always give it life. I can imagine a person reading it with as much interest as we do to-day in a hundred years' time, when the story of Woman's struggle for freedom will have become an old wives' fable, in a world where the artificial bars of sexual division have long decayed and been swept away.

Olive Schreiner.

Florence, March, 1914.

The above message from Olive Schreiner, sent especially to VOTES FOR WOMEN, probably expresses what our readers feel themselves about Lady Constance Lytton's book, "Prisons and Prisoners." Warmly appreciative reviews continue to appear in the daily and weekly Press. We print a selection of these below, and take this opportunity to remind our readers that the book is on sale at the VOTES FOR WOMEN Fellowship Offices, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C., price 3s. 6d. net.

## The Passer-by in the "Christian Commonwealth"

I cannot convey to the reader, within the space available, an adequate idea of the contents of the book or of the emotions it

stirs—reverence for the writer, amazement that a Christian State should withhold the right she claims, indignation that she should have been treated with brutality, shame that instead of her womanhood being respected her body was foully desecrated. Nothing could sully her pure spirit. No one can read this book without realising that he is in the presence of a soul of rare quality, one of the saviours of the race; but if the reader has once seen Lady Constance Lytton he will all the time he is following this narrative of her experiences be haunted by a saintly face, and that beautiful vision will greatly add to the poignancy of his feelings. There is no bitterness in the narrative, no resentment; it is a plain, straightforward setting forth of facts. The writer's childlike heart and mind lead her to speak with a frankness and to give some intimate details that a less pure woman would think were indelicate. Constance Lytton is an incarnation of the Christ-spirit, if ever there was one. The story of her deeds—the motive that inspired them, the spirit in which she did them—is worthy of being enshrined in the Sacred Books of the race. . . . I make no further comment—except this: that the battle is not yet ended. Forcible feeding is still going on. If the authorities continue to inflict it, and Parliament allows it, and our religious leaders remain passive, what is one to do?

## "The Lady's Pictorial"

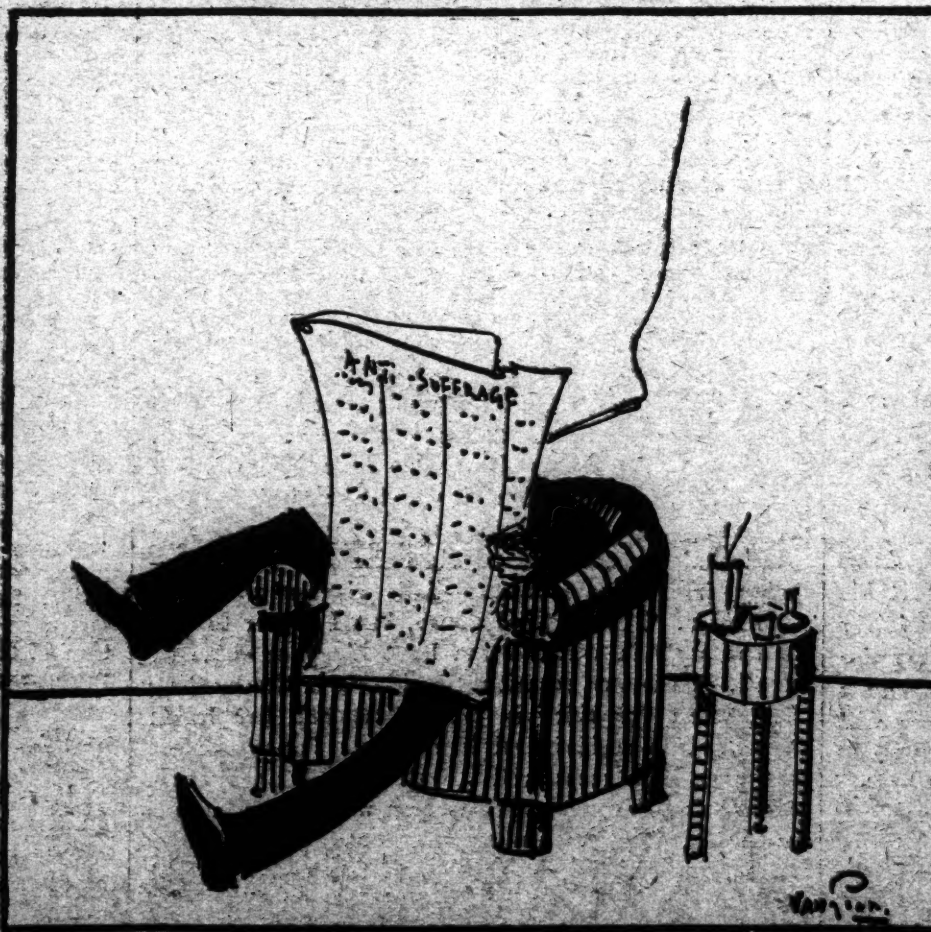
Her book will rank for all time as a valuable record of the prison system, and it is only the coming generation who will fully appreciate the self-sacrifice and courage of the writer—a true martyr to her cause.

The book is written simply and directly with no attempt at dramatic situations and sensational climaxes. Yet it grips and fascinates from the very first page, and one reads on and on with eagerness and great appreciation. Lady Constance Lytton's rare intellectual powers make this book enjoyable as a literary effort as well as a record of her experiences. It should be read by all men and women who have the welfare of humanity at heart.

## Mr. Frank Harris in "Modern Society"

I have scarcely anything but praise for this book. . . . I bless this book because it takes away from me the need of writing on English prisons. Here the misery of them, the torture of them, and the brainless stupidities of them, are all set forth for anyone to read who has brains or heart—a root and branch condemnation of them as degrading and decivilising, dehumanising, with not a redeeming feature to be found in them.

## THE ANTI-SUFFRAGIST



"Before you know it, we shall have these females in the club here, what?"

# WOMEN, THE CHURCH & THE STATE

## Excluded Suffragists Worship Outside the Abbey—Sir Edward Carson and Ulsterwomen—The Dinner Guests of Cabinet Ministers

### MARCH TO THE ABBEY

#### Doors Locked Against Processionists—Impressive Open-Air Service

Last Sunday Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, whose licence expired at midnight on Saturday, was carried on a stretcher to Westminster Abbey at the head of a procession of East End workers, in accordance with her intention, announced beforehand in a letter we published last week, of attending evensong in order to pray for the enfranchisement of women, and for the militant women now in prison. The Dean, we understand, had sent no reply to the letter containing this intimation.

The procession started from Bow at four o'clock. Mounted police led the way; behind these came a band and three banners at intervals, two of them belonging to the East End Federation of Suffragettes and one to the Men's Federation for Woman Suffrage. Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, looking very white and ill, lay on a sort of spinal carriage on wheels, which now and then was lifted on high and carried on the shoulders of eight men and women. The impressiveness of the procession, consisting as it did in the main of hardworking people from the East End, worn with toil and want of food, was greatly added to by the single figure of a clergyman, the Rev. C. A. Wills, who walked in front in his cassock and white surplice.

The procession was joined by people all along the route until, by the time it reached the Bank, it was some 800 strong, the processionists being pretty equally divided between men and women. At Temple Bar the City police who had marched two deep on either side of the ranks, left the procession, which was escorted the rest of the way by Metropolitan police, of whom there were large reinforcements lurking in side streets in the neighbourhood of Whitehall. At Charing Cross Miss Pankhurst's litter was hoisted on high, which was the signal for immense cheering and the accession of large crowds of people. Round it were women armed with knotted ropes, and outside these another ring of men and women with linked hands. No attempt, however, was made to touch the central figure; and the marchers, now numbering something like 3,000 people, went down Whitehall to the Abbey.

#### An Impressive Service

At Parliament Square the police and the litter and one flag, waving the purple, white, green, and red colours of the Federation, wheeled sharply to the right and approached the north door of the Abbey; then halted, and finally wheeled round again, the rumour quickly spreading through the ranks that the Abbey was said to be full and the doors were all locked! The procession, still orderly, followed the flag and the litter round to the Poets' Corner, and there, outside the Abbey, a deeply impressive service was held. Three hymns were sung—"Onward, Christian Soldiers," "Abide with me," and "O God, our help in ages past." The Rev. C. A. Wills gave a short address; then the litter was hoisted up, and Miss Pankhurst spoke a few words in so weak a voice that only those near her could hear what she said. She reminded her hearers that it was Mothering Sunday, and said: "We have come here to ask One higher than the Government that the women of this country, the mothers of this country, shall have the power to make or mar a Government in order that they may get better conditions for themselves. We pray that the women may obtain Peace with Honour."

#### Why Arrested?

The procession then returned in a perfectly orderly way to Northumberland Avenue, where it dispersed, Miss Sylvia Pankhurst being taken home in an ambulance. On the way along Whitehall, Government Offices and Ministerial residences were heartily booed; and at Downing Street two women—Miss Margaret Paterson and Miss Petersen, who turned into Downing Street—were instantly arrested—nobody could have said why—and afterwards released on bail. On Monday, when they appeared at Bow Street, Miss Petersen was discharged, and Miss Paterson fined 40s., or in default, 14 days.

#### THE CHURCH AND THE PEOPLE

##### An Eye-witness's Account

For years the English Church has lamented its failure to attract the bulk of

the people to itself; latterly it has even had to deplore the falling away of its women workers, yet only last Sunday it deliberately refused one of the greatest opportunities ever offered to it of becoming indeed the Church of the people. A band of working women had given notice of their intention to march from their East End homes to Westminster Abbey, there to pray for the cause of women's enfranchisement, and had asked that the service might be adapted to their needs. The public knows by this time how the Dean and Chapter of Westminster Abbey acceded to the request of the East London Federation of the Suffragettes.

I joined the procession to the Abbey on Ludgate Hill, when the greater part of the weary march was done. Until we left the City boundary it was led by a single clergyman, wearing his surplice, one of the few heroic men who in these days still remember the function of a priest. Not far behind him was borne aloft the stretcher on which lay Miss Sylvia Pankhurst, still suffering from the effects of her last imprisonment. In our ranks were almost equal numbers of men and women, of almost every age and social status, though young working people predominated, and almost at once I found myself noting the heavy, badly-worn, and ill-fitting footwear of many of my companions, and reflecting on the pain and discomfort of walking so far under such conditions. In all this great crowd it was clear enough there was no thought of violence or lawlessness—it was instinct with a great and solemn purpose.

#### Barred Gates

At last we came to the Abbey, and found ourselves moving from one gate to another, guided by the stretcher in front. Afterwards we learned that directly the procession came into sight, the gates were locked. It was in truth a strange and ironical state of affairs. The Abbey bells still rang out their call to Evensong, but the doors of the House of God were barred against this great mass of His people who had come in all sincerity and singleness of heart to plead their cause with Him.

For, indeed, what happened now showed how strangely mistaken was the action of the Abbey authorities. Even under such provocation, that ever-growing crowd remembered its errand was one of peace. Any irreverent or irrelevant cry was quickly hushed, and clear, strong, and reverent rang out the strains of "Onward, Christian Soldiers." Few of us, I fancy, could distinguish more than a few words of the short address that followed from the brave clergyman who was with us, though we stood so silently; then, in even greater silence, we strained to hear Miss Pankhurst's voice, clear, but sadly weak. Then, as we stood there, we sang two more hymns, after which the order was passed along to turn back to Charing Cross. It was good to see Miss Pankhurst's stretcher put into a motor ambulance van, to realise that the inevitable strain and jolting was at an end, and after the time of tension we had passed through it was a welcome relief to resume our march.

Yet none could doubt the change of spirit that had taken place. Still, we were orderly, determined to give no real offence to the authorities; but the Church was condemned by its own action. Before we had passed Downing Street in silence—our appeal was to God, and for the moment we had nothing to do with Ministers of State. Now, we went by with groans and jeers and ones, yet even when the rumour came along that an arrest had been made the orderly march continued until its goal was reached, and the multitude quietly dispersed.

#### Annie Somers.

An admirable account of the scene outside the Abbey appears in this week's *Christian Commonwealth*.

#### INSIDE THE ABBEY

"Give us justice and the vote, we beseech thee, O God," chanted Suffragists in the Abbey, while the thousands outside who could not enter were holding their own service. Otherwise, the presence of the Suffragists was not made noticeable until Canon Talbot, in his sermon, made use of the expression, "righteous man." "There is no righteous man!" exclaimed a woman in the North Transept. "I solemnly protest against a Christian Church permitting injustice to women." The organ at once pealed out, and the woman was ejected.

When the preacher resumed his sermon, another woman raised her voice and said: "Why does not the Church support our righteous cause?" In the confusion caused by those who turned the woman out, Canon Talbot brought his sermon to a close.

## WOMEN AND PARTY LEADERS

### ULSTER WOMEN AND THE VOTE

#### Sir Edward Carson receives a Deputation

(From a Correspondent)

On Monday, March 23, Sir Edward Carson received a deputation from the Northern Committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, a non-militant body. The deputation waited upon Sir Edward at Craigavon, and was introduced by Captain Craig, M.P. Arrangements had been made for a large and influential deputation of Ulsterwomen. Owing, however, to the critical state of political affairs, and the uncertainty of his movements, it was decided that a few should interview Sir Edward at once.

#### Direct Questions

Mrs. R. H. Metge and Mrs. W. J. Holmes, representing the Northern Committee of the Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation, and Miss Mellone, representing the Federation, explained the object of the deputation, and asked the following questions:—

1. In view of the promise to Ulster women made by the Unionist Council last September, that the Municipal Register should form the basis of the Provisional Government, are you prepared to demand that this Register should be taken as the basis in any settlement of the Home Rule crisis?

2. If the Referendum for the Ulster Counties be accepted, will you ask that this shall be taken on the basis of the Municipal Register?

3. Should Ulster remain under the Imperial Parliament, will you support any measure of enfranchisement for women?

#### Sir Edward's Reply

Sir Edward Carson, in his reply, stated: 1. They were fighting for the same treatment for the men of Ulster as the men of England were getting, and the women of Ulster would get the same treatment as the women of England got. He could not ask for any special treatment for Ulster women; it would be inconsistent on his part to do so, since he had never agreed with the suffrage movement. Nor could he make such a demand on behalf of his party, as they were divided on the subject.

2. With regard to the Referendum in the Ulster Counties, Sir Edward stated that this was a point requiring attention, and definitely promised to give it his consideration.

3. In reply to this question, Sir Edward said it would be quite inconsistent for him to make any definite promise in this direction.

#### Not Considered Satisfactory

After further discussion the deputation expressed their regret that Sir Edward had been personally unable to give them a more satisfactory reply, and having thanked Sir Edward they withdrew.

### DINING WITH MR. BIRRELL

(By One of the Dinners)

It is an expensive matter to invite a Cabinet Minister to dinner in these days. First of all, you have to constitute yourself a private branch of the Criminal Investigation Department in order to scrutinise every invitation card that is issued and every acceptance that is received in reply, in case there may be among the intending guests one person who makes the mistake of thinking that Liberalism means what it says. Then, even after this selection of the fittest has taken place and you hope you have secured a perfectly docile company in whom not one will be found to speak in praise of Woman, you have to issue another fifty tickets or so to the C.I.D. at Scotland Yard. For in these days "Mr. Birrell and friends" means a posse of plain-clothes detectives. As I began by saying, it is very expensive nowadays to invite a Cabinet Minister to dinner.

And when all these expensive precautions have been taken, you never, never know that your guests may not include someone who is not a detective, someone who may think that women are part of the people.

#### Received by Detectives

With two men friends I accepted the invitation of the Young Liberals to dine at the Connaught Rooms last Friday, to meet Mr. Birrell. There are ways and ways of meeting the guest of the evening at a dinner party. The Young Liberal way is evidently to keep him in hiding while the other guests are arriving, and to have these received by detectives in plain clothes. It seems odd that Cabinet Ministers should prefer to be impersonated at

public functions by detectives rather than give women the vote and live a dignified life again. The other method is so much simpler; at least, so it seemed to me last Friday, as I stood flanked by detectives, and watched the Chief Secretary for Ireland hurry furtively on to the scene at the last moment before dinner, also attended by these gentlemen, who at once executed a military manoeuvre and surrounded him so as to make it impossible for him to shake hands except with a few trusted guests passed by Scotland Yard.

#### Our Fellow Dinners

At dinner I sat with my two friends at a table near the door. The other occupants of the table were detectives. Detectives, with here and there a Young Liberal, also filled the next table to ours. Conversation was a little strained, as so many subjects seemed in doubtful taste. The Dublin inquiry, the situation in South Africa, prison reform, all seemed a little "shoppy" in view of the profession of our fellow diners. However, the end of dinner was reached at last, and coffee was the signal for the waiters to clear away all the chairs and other obstructions that stood between our table and the door. A clear passage for ejection having thus been secured, our fellow diners drew nearer yet to us—and Mr. Birrell rose to speak in reply to Mr. Acland.

"When does the Government mean to enfranchise women, Mr. Birrell?" I asked, gently but firmly. Instantly I was seized on both sides. I tried to retain my hold of the table in order to wait for Mr. Birrell's answer; but there are ways of loosening a person's hands—they are not nice ways, and therefore Scotland Yard is proficient in them—and in a few moments I was being hustled through the door and down the stairs.

I heard my companions making gallant efforts to repeat my perfectly reasonable question and to protest against the Government's treatment of Suffragists in prison. But in a company where you had to choose between Young Liberals and detectives, what chance was there of getting a hearing on Liberalism? So they soon rejoined me at the outer door, where, for the first time since our arrival, we were allowed to take leave of our fellow guests from Scotland Yard.

I suppose, when the only three Liberals present had been turned out, Mr. Birrell made quite a nice speech on matters appertaining to half the nation.

C. I. D.

#### ATMOSPHERE OF THE HOUSE

No Suffragette could have spoken more frankly of the House of Commons than did those members of it who gave evidence last week before the Committee appointed to inquire into the ventilation of the Palace of Westminster.

Sir R. Pole-Carew, M.P., speaking of his experience of the air of the House, said that to remain in it for any considerable length of time made him extremely sleepy, and, he thought, caused confusion in the brain.

Mr. Lyell, M.P., went further and asserted: "There is a deadness in the atmosphere of the House which I have not recognised anywhere else."

We have all noticed that deadness. It has reigned in the House of Commons, as far as Woman Suffrage is concerned, for half-a-century!

#### HOOIGAN ELECTORS

The Paris correspondent of the *Times* (March 20) telegraphs that at an electoral meeting at St. Denis serious riots occurred and "many persons were killed and injured."

We have so far looked in vain for the comment that we have learnt to expect from the *Times* (when the nominal violence of voteless women is in question) that hooligans guilty of such conduct have proved themselves unfit for the vote.

#### DOES BRITAIN LEAD THE WAY?

Politicians all over the world consider the British Parliament as the Mother of Parliaments. In the same way feminists of all lands turn to the English movement for woman's suffrage as the mother of the universal feminist movement. So you can take it for granted that the refusal by many countries to grant votes to women is largely due to the bad example the English Parliament sets to the world. —Miss Kosika Schwimmer in the *New Statesman*.

#### A TOPICAL DEFINITION

A Liberal is one who worships dead revolutionists and persecutes living ones.—*The Smart Set*.

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## "KUNDRY"

A Man's Invention

By CONSTANCE ELIZABETH MAUD

The opera of "Parsifal" is such a beautiful gift to humanity that to offer any sort of criticism is a somewhat ungracious task. But since all over the world the eyes of women have begun to open, the desire for truth has quickened, and a just criticism cannot be silenced, even though it may not be generally welcome.

It is the character of Kundry which "gives to think" and lies open to a grave charge, for it fails in the one great essential, namely, that of truth: We are told by Wagner that Kundry was accursed and doomed to wander on the earth for centuries long because she had mocked the Saviour as He hung upon the Cross. But the wandering Jew of whom this legend is related was a man, not a woman, and to bring such a charge against a woman, even Herodias herself, is an act of injustice to womanhood.

No woman ever did, or ever could, be guilty of just this particular sin. The sin of Herodias was black enough, but it was not in this category. The Daughters of Jerusalem "wept" as they saw the Christ pass through their streets on His way to Calvary—wept while the Sons of Jerusalem mocked and derided Him as He fell beneath the weight of His Cross. They left it to a passing stranger to show a touch of human pity. It was a band of those same Daughters of Jerusalem who stood by the Cross through the terrible hours of darkness when His chosen disciples forsook Him and fled. And one of those faithful women was Mary of Magdala, the "Sinner."

### Her Sin Unconvincing

According to Wagner, the dying Saviour turned and looked on the mocking woman—a look that so pierced her heart that from that hour she had sought Him through the world; but only again to deride and mock whenever she did find him enshrined in any pure soul. The Saviour's look had a very different effect on Mary Magdalen, and one finds it hard to be convinced about Kundry. Wagner himself must have felt the difficulty, for he was obliged to have recourse to a sorcerer to account for Kundry's persistent deafness to the Divine Voice within her. Torn betwixt good and evil, Kundry, like the Satan of the Persian legend, awaited her redemption in that one who would be strong enough to resist and spurn her. This is an eternal truth, and makes one the more regret that the author should have thought it necessary to build the Kundry story on a wrong and unjustifiable foundation.

Kundry, as the female counterpart of Satan, or as the woman of the dual nature depicted in "Jekyll and Hyde," is borne out by history and experience, and Wagner needed such a woman the better to set forth the heroic qualities of his Parsifal. He had no place in this, the most spiritual of all his works, for a pure-minded and spiritual woman, but he required one who, though she had mocked and derided the Saviour on His Cross, was capable of being redeemed by a good, pure-minded man.

### "An Essentially Male Opera"

"Parsifal" is an essentially male opera. The divine masculine reigns supreme, untouched by any suggestion of the existence of a divine feminine, and there is a curious significance in this first production in England at a time when the whole country is seething with the burning question of the Woman's Movement, the greatest spiritual movement the world has ever known.

Though all unconsciously, no doubt, Wagner's story of Sir Percival illustrates the profound truth that trouble invariably follows on a refusal to give to woman her right place in the world, in the home and in the Temple. The exclusive Knights of the Grail, who would fain live in blessed odour of sanctity with their sacred life-giving relics, kept jealously from the eye of the mothers that bore them and the wives who bore with them, what a Nemesis was theirs! Those who refuse to admit woman as their equal and partner in all the responsibilities and privileges of life generally have to pay the price of Amfortas. The sword pierces them somewhere or other, and woman proves a curse when she should have been a blessing.

Even Parsifal cannot find "Mont Salvat" as long as he takes a path leading him away from Kundry. This is her curse on him for flying from her, and in spite of his victorious purity it holds good. Only when he again finds Kundry are his wanderings ended and his goal attained.

Poor Kundry creeps into the temple unnoticed among the men. The sight of the Grail, which had kept poor old Titirel alive even in his coffin for long years, is the signal for the happy release of her weary spirit, and she expires before the Knights realise that their sacred temple has been profaned by the foot of a woman. Did Wagner realise, I wonder, how his story of Sir Percival would one day serve as yet another justification for the Woman's Movement towards Liberty, Equality, and Fraternity?

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## BOOK REVIEWS

### MEMOIR OF FATHER STANTON

All who knew Father Stanton will welcome this loving tribute to his memory, and even those who have no sympathy with his mental outlook cannot fail to read with deep interest the record of a wonderful, splendid, heroic life. His story deserves a place among the stories of all who have lived nobly, who have devoted themselves to high ideals and have spent themselves in service for the good of their fellows. Father Stanton was one of those rare souls, the *élite* of this world, to whom material things are simply as dross. Fearlessly and unaffectedly indifferent to the approval or disapproval of the "great," he went on his way, content to spend strength, time, money, and rare personal gifts for fifty years in the service of the poor in a London slum. Only one with a vision could do this. The Church authorities set no value on this precious, truly Christ-like work, but harassed him with censure on the score of petty differences in ritual, long since relegated to their proper importance. Not until he was over seventy, a dying man, did the Church offer him the poor recognition of a Prebendal Stall in St. Paul's, which he was too ill to accept. A greater tribute was the title "Father" and "Dad," lovingly bestowed on him by his poor parishioners, and the reverent crowds who lined the streets on the day of his funeral. Born in 1839, in Stroud, Arthur Henry Stanton was never in any doubt as to his vocation even in boyhood, and after a college course started his life work in 1862 at St. Alban's, Holborn. The first services were, however, held in the basement of a house, a sort of "Catacomb," as he styled it with characteristic humour. He came full of dreams, but a year's work in "reality, dirt, squalor, indifference, hatred, misery" brought disillusionment. "I dream no more," he said. But he was never discouraged, and the rest of his life (until March 28, 1913) consisted simply of working and fighting in the squalor of slumdom. "The blessings of the poor follow him, for he was their best friend for fifty years," were the words on "Father Stanton's Memorial Card." This little book is really fascinating reading; one is filled with wonder and admiration at such a life story as that of dear old "Dad," which is to say that the biography is just what it should be. J. C.

### FIFTEEN "OLD STAGERS"

The replies to the fifteen "old stagers" of Lord Curzon are concise, trenchant, and amusingly flavoured. Beginning with the time-honoured "woman's sphere and highest duty, maternity" (neglected, of course, if woman gets the vote), Lord Curzon asserts that only very few women desire it, and probably a very large number would never use it. Yet he fears that in emergencies "a preponderant force might suddenly be mobilised." Further, England would lose *prestige* in the estimation of foreign powers by the presence of a large female factor in the constituencies. Also, women would demand to be M.P.'s, Cabinet Ministers, and Judges. More alarming still, female suffrage "would be gravely misunderstood and become a source of weakness in India." To these familiar, time-honoured fancies K. R.'s replies should be found useful by speakers and debaters.

### "THE WOMAN WITH A PACK"

Miss Gertrude Vaughan's play, "The Woman with a Pack," has now been issued in a cheap edition, price 6d., by the Galton Press, 6, Hand Court, Holborn. Everyone who saw and was charmed by this clever dramatic sketch, when it was first produced by the Actresses' Franchise League at the Portman Rooms, in 1911, will be glad of this opportunity to possess the book itself in a very readable and attractive form.

### BOOKS RECEIVED

"The Crimson Mascot." By Charles E. Pearce. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 6s.)  
"The Golden Heresy." By Max Plowman. (From Author, 43, Fitzroy Street, W. Price 2s. 6d. net.)  
"Madame Sans-Gêne." By Edward Lepelletier. (London: Stanley Paul. Price 1s. 6d. net.)  
"Labour and Liberalism." By A. Fenner Brockway. (London: National Labour Press. Price 6d.)  
"Woman at Home." April. (8, Southampton Street, W.C. Price 6d. net.)

### PAPER-SELLING REPORT

A regular pitch has been started in Manchester, and the Captain, who generously gives time out of a busy life to this work, asks for more helpers. Will any Fellows in or near Manchester, who feel they can give her a little help each week, or even occasionally, write at once to the Hon. Paper-Selling Organiser at headquarters, or direct to the Captain, Miss A. N. Drogson, Oak Croft, Cheshire Hulme?

A pitch in the City, which was started a little while ago, is already working up to a good sale; but it needs many workers, especially from 12 till 2 and 4 till 7. Much could be done if we could staff it efficiently. So we call upon Fellows to "come on" and fill up vacant places.

"Father Stanton, of St. Alban's, Holborn: A Memoir." By Joseph Clayton. (London: Wells, Gardner, Darton and Co. Price 1s. net.)

"Fifteen Objections to Woman Suffrage." By Lord Curzon. Answered by K. R. Copies, price 1d. per dozen, 9d. May be obtained from Mrs. Blower, 7, Park Road, Oxbridge.

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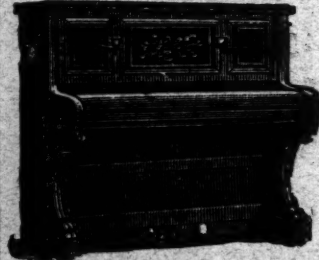
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FRIDAY, MARCH 27, 1914.

### A LESSON FROM ULSTER

The absorbing political drama of the moment is the ever shifting situation in Ulster. In this intensified and vital issue the political laws that govern history can be seen in operation. They should be carefully and closely studied by all women and men who are seeking to bring about the political emancipation of women by political means.

The first of these fundamental human laws that has been unmistakably demonstrated during the past week is the sheer impossibility of coercing a considerable and united section of the community into acceptance of a form of government from which the people who compose it dissent. They have only to be determined enough, they have only to prove that determination by readiness to risk personal safety and personal interests and they are practically invincible in their opposition. The maxim specially appropriated by the Liberal Party—"Government rests on the consent of the governed"—is seen now to be not the statement of a theory, but the statement of a fact.

The parties that compose the Coalition, confident of their possession of all the forces of the Army, the Navy, and the Police; conscious also of their ability to injure the commercial and economic interests of an industrial community, have again and again boldly and publicly announced their resolve to crush resistance, and to meet force with overwhelming force. They have been absolutely confident of their power to stamp out effective resistance on the part of the minority in Ireland. Now, at the last moment, they have been rudely and abruptly awakened to the fact that their majority, their force, their control of machinery will not avail them to break the spirit or the will of a handful of determined and united men. In other words, they are powerless to thrust upon a small group of people in a corner of Ireland a system of government which they regard, rightly or wrongly, as tyrannical and unjust.

Let this truth, so freshly and dramatically thrust upon the attention of the country, be applied to a question infinitely more important than the resistance and coercion of Ulster, namely, the resistance and coercion of the women of the nation. It will then be realised that women have only to combine and to withhold their consent to a system whereby they are governed by men as an inferior and sub-

human section of the community, to render such government impossible.

The political grievance of the men of Ulster, who resent being compelled to send representatives to a Parliament in Dublin when they wish to send representatives to a Parliament in London, sinks into insignificance beside the political grievance of women, who are deprived, whether in England or in Ireland, of any representative Government whatever. Let women become as conscious of sex solidarity as Irishmen are of race solidarity. Let them be as determined in their refusal to consent to their exclusion from the body politic as the men of Ulster are determined to resist exclusion from the English House of Commons. Let them be as prepared to withstand criticism, let them be as ready to make great sacrifices. Then their demand—not for special treatment as Ulster Irishmen—but for equal treatment as fellow-subjects of the King, being more simple, more elementary, more incontestable, will be even more irresistible, and they will inevitably bring the most obstinate Government to terms.

The second fact that has been demonstrated with dramatic clearness is that those who have the most to lose by being true to their deepest convictions are the very people appointed by destiny to be the arbiters of national fate. The action taken last Saturday by some of the officers of the Army has been a decisive factor in the momentary issue of civil war or the avoidance of it. It is not for us to give a verdict upon the much disputed question as to how far it befits a soldier, who has taken the oath of fidelity to the King, to exercise his private judgment in matters of obedience to superior command. The fact remains that a large number of military men have proved themselves to be prepared, at a moment's notice, to jeopardise their career, to lose their livelihood and their pension, simply and solely on account of their moral conviction that the flag they were called upon to fight under had been, from their point of view (rightly or wrongly) subverted from its true meaning and had become for the moment the flag, not of union, but of disruption; not of right, but of tyranny.

What a lesson is hereby given to the men and women who wear the livery of the Liberal Party, and who reap advantage, whether socially or financially, from their official position. Mr. Lloyd George did not hesitate last Saturday to point out that the people in Ulster are fighting for a shadow compared to the women of the country, who are fighting, he says, for "the elementary right of citizenship," the right that the Government of which he is a member denies! How dare he say such a thing to a Liberal audience? How dare he? How great must be his contempt for the sycophants of his party, who are ready to deny the fundamental principles of the Liberal faith to keep him and the Anti-Suffrage Government in power and themselves in favour.

What about the women who occupy official positions in the Liberal ranks? What a reproach it is to the Woman's Movement that the interests of these ladies—their social interests and advancements should outweigh all consideration of moral dignity, all sense of loyalty to their own sex. What are they doing under a flag that professes to stand for freedom, and is subverted to the dark uses of tyranny, and repression? Because they have much—if they, so consider it—to lose, their power and responsibility are all the greater. They could have prevented the agony of the long conflict which women have waged for their freedom. They could have averted shame and disgrace from their own party, have spared the community from waste and destruction, have saved the health, and the lives of women like Lady Constance Lytton, Emily Davidson, and others, and have won the respect of future generations.

Had the Liberal women threatened to resign their positions and disband their associations unless "the elementary right of citizenship" were conceded to the woman-half of the people, there would have been no Cat and Mouse Act, no revival of the Torture of Prisoners, no horrible new precedent of Forceful Feeding; for the Government would have had to yield long ago, to the moral consequences of this revolt for conscience sake.

Even now, learning the lesson of Ulster, let the women who hold office in the Liberal Party refuse to hold their commissions under a Government that is deliberately using all the resources of political organisation to crush the righteous resistance to coercion on the part of an awakened womanhood struggling for the elementary right of citizenship and the first and simplest condition of self-government and political liberty.

[illegible]

## COMPARISON OF PUNISHMENTS

### LIGHT SENTENCES

#### Assault on a Wife

The *Aberdeen Evening Gazette* (March 13) reports case of a man charged at the Aberdeen Police Court, before Bailie Fiddes, with assaulting his wife. He struck her with his fists and knocked her against the dresser. It was stated that he frequently got drunk and knocked her and the step-children about.

Sentence:—Put on probation for two months.

#### Brutality to a Horse

The *Bayswater Chronicle* (March 14) reports case of a carter charged at the Guildhall before Alderman Sir Charles Wakefield with gross cruelty to a horse. It was being dragged along at the rear of a van by a halter passed over the tongue and round the lower jaw in a slipknot. The tongue was lacerated right across, nearly cut in half.

Sentence:—One month's hard labour.

#### Causing Grievous Bodily Harm

The *Standard* (March 23) reports case of a carman charged at Lambeth Police Court with being drunk while in charge of a pony and milk-cart and causing grievous bodily harm to a woman.

Sentence:—One month's hard labour.

### HEAVY SENTENCES

#### Petty Theft

The *East Grinstead Observer* (March 7) reports case of a carman charged at the Sussex Winter Assizes with stealing from a groom in a harness room a cardigan jacket, pair of gloves, two ties, and other small articles. He pleaded guilty, and no previous convictions were recorded.

Sentence:—Four months' hard labour.

#### Begging from a Lord

The *Times* (March 20) reports case of a journalist charged at Marylebone Police Court with endeavouring to obtain charitable contributions by means of a letter to Lord Haddo.

Sentence:—One month's hard labour.

#### Burglary

The *Times* (March 11) reports case of a shoemaker charged before Mr. Wallase at the London Sessions with having committed a burglary at Highbury Quadrant. There were previous convictions.

Sentence:—Three years' penal servitude.

## THE WIFE-BEATER

### A British Product

We believe there is still upon the statute book an old Elizabethan regulation forbidding a man to beat his wife after eight o'clock in the evening—not, however, out of any consideration to the wife, but merely because her screams might disturb the sleep of the neighbours. This would not surprise Mr. George W. Hills, of Philadelphia, in whose book, "John Bull, Limited," recently reviewed in the *Daily Sketch*, the following passage occurs:—

"The striking of English women with the English fist is of so common occurrence that but little notice is taken of such instances, even by the law."

"Among the upper social strata this primitive method of dealing with his womenkind is a frequent pastime of John Bull and a fruitful source of domestic trouble and separation."

### "A Ridiculous Provision"

Nor does Mr. Hills exaggerate. In the *Observer* (March 15) a small paragraph appeared under the heading, "Wives Hardships," relating how several women who applied at the Thames Police Court for summonses against their husbands for persistent cruelty were told that the magistrate could not grant such a summons as long as the woman was living with her husband. It was a ridiculous provision, he said, but that was the law.

"Ridiculous" is not quite the word we should have used in this connection.

### The Law and Wife-Beating

Whatever the law may be with regard to wife-beating, it is certain that its administration is all on the side of the wife-beater, judging by the light sentences passed upon these men in the courts generally. We give above in our table of comparisons one such instance, showing how lightly a wife's person is valued in comparison with stolen property.

Here are other instances, taken almost at random from different papers:—

The *Willesden Police News* (March 12) reports the case of a coal porter summoned for being disorderly, using obscene language, and assaulting his wife. He struck her in the face and knocked her down outside a public house because, he alleged, when he came home for his tea he found her out! He was fined 5s.

In the very same court, before the same magistrates (Alderman Geo. Wright, chairman, Mr. William Godson, Mr. J. J. Hanbury, Mr. James F. Oliver, and Mr. J. Cash), a man was fined 40s. or 21 days for stealing half-a-crown's worth of candles, washing powder, and such articles.

So a wife's person is estimated at one-eighth of the value of half-a-crown's worth of tallow!

Another instance of wife-beating is given in the *Aberdeen Evening Gazette* (March 14), and is that of two builders who assaulted the wife of one of them "by striking her repeatedly on the head, body and arms with their fists, injuring her to the effusion of blood." Her husband further "pushed her and twisted her arm."

For this murderous assault, the woman's husband was sentenced by Bailie Fiddes to a fine of 20s. or ten days' imprisonment; and the other man, who had assaulted her daughter as well, was sentenced to 30s. or fifteen days.

Fortunately, of course, the majority of husbands are not wife-beaters. What we want to emphasise is that, owing to the low status of women in a country like ours, where they are not considered fit to be placed on a political equality with men, neither the law nor the administration of the law is such as to act as a deterrent to those husbands, happily in the minority, who are wife-beaters and treat their wives as a possession to do what they like with.

## WOMEN FORCED TO TAKE ACTION

Last Monday the Women's Freedom League commenced picketing Scotland Yard and the office of the Director of Public Prosecutions as a protest against the retention in the force of two policemen. These two constables, according to their sworn evidence in the case of Rex v. Wetherall in September, 1913, declared themselves aware of criminal relations between another constable and a girl of fourteen, daughter of the landlady where the constables lodged. No action was taken against the policemen, and the Freedom League referred the matter to the Home Secretary in a memorial signed by many residents of Homerton and Hackney. The



"Oh, yes! When I'm in quod of course my wife can work to keep the kids; but vote? Not much!"

Home Secretary stated that he found no grounds for intervention, and the Member for South Hackney merely expressed sympathy. Since then every Member of the House of Commons has received a pamphlet setting forth the case, and not one has taken action, so the women feel that they themselves have been forced to take steps in the matter. On Tuesday the women outside the Public Prosecutor's office were asked to go away by a policeman, and later by Sir Charles Mathews himself. They refused to do so, and were arrested, as were also the pickets at Scotland Yard. They were later brought up at Bow Street and sentenced to a fine of 40s., or 14 days.

### POLICEWOMEN IN ENGLAND

#### A Step Forward in Blackburn

At a public meeting in Blackburn, convened last week for the purpose of considering how women and girls can be better protected in parks and public places, the Mayor of Blackburn (Alderman J. Higginson) made the interesting announcement that he intended to bring before the Watch Committee, of which he is chairman, the question of appointing women constables.

At the same meeting the Bishop of Whalley said the suggestion of appointing women police was certainly worthy of consideration.

In the United States policewomen have been found of great service in those cities where they have been tried. A Bill is now before the New York Legislature for enrolling a force of twenty policewomen for that city.

## THE VOTELESS MOTHER

### Pensioned where Women Vote—Her Children Slaves in this Country

#### WIDOWS' PENSIONS

Last week we gave some account of the Widows' Pensions Act passed in New Zealand after the women won the vote there. In the United States one of the first laws passed with the aid of the women in those States where women have been enfranchised has almost always been some form of Widows' Pensions Act.

#### California

In California, for instance, where women won the vote in October, 1911, a commission was appointed almost at once to investigate the whole question of mothers' pensions and old-age insurance. A law was passed providing for pensions for widowed mothers of children under fourteen, when the mothers are needy. The women must be American citizens, resident in the State for three years.

#### Colorado

In Colorado, where women have been enfranchised since 1893, a pension is granted to either parent, or to both parents, for the care of the child when either or both can be considered unable to provide for the child, although considered to be its proper guardian or guardians.

#### Idaho

In Idaho, where women have voted since 1896, specified monthly sums are allowed for each child under fifteen to needy mothers whose husbands are dead or prisoners.

#### Oregon

In Oregon, although women only won their vote there in 1912, there is already a law providing pensions for every mother of children under sixteen whose husband is dead, imprisoned, or incapacitated.

#### Utah

In Utah, where women were enfranchised in 1896, pensions are provided for the partial support of children under fifteen, when the mothers are dependent on their own efforts for the maintenance of their children. Mothers who are not compelled to go out to work in order to support their children do not get these pensions.

#### Washington

Since 1910, when the State of Washington gave its women the vote, a law has been in force allowing a pension to the mother of children under fifteen if the husband is dead, imprisoned, insane, or totally disabled.

### The Effect of Example

Such is the effect of example that in other States also, where women have not yet won the vote, though in many cases they are in a fair way to doing so, this admirable reform of granting pensions to widows, and even to "grass" widows, has been achieved or is in course of being won. Judge Lindsey, in his survey of February, 1913, wrote: "Mothers' pensions are an issue in more than a third of the forty-two States during the present session." But would this have been the case had the enfranchised States not first shown the way, or if in many of the States where this reform is on the way there were not a vigorous suffrage campaign going on which is shortly to culminate in victory?

The *Woman's Journal* (March 14) states that the New York State Commission for the Relief of Widowed Mothers has reported to the Legislature that there is urgent need for State assistance to widowed mothers with dependent children, and that administrative machinery should be set up to meet this need. In New York City there are in institutions, it seems, more than 6,000 children of widowed mothers for whose care per head the city pays between two and three dollars a week.

### To Copy the Suffrage States

The report adds that six of the nine Suffrage States have widows' pensions already, and that when this reform has been granted it has proved to be the greatest step forward in social legislation for the welfare of the child since the creation of the juvenile courts.

### CO-OPERATIVE WOMEN'S GUILD DEMAND MOTHERS' PENSIONS

The Women's Co-operative Guild, representing some thousands of working-class mothers, have approached the President of the Local Government Board with proposals for ensuring a better start for the new generation by caring more for the welfare of the mothers. One doubts if anything really effectual will be achieved in this direction until women possess the political power of the vote; but it is a healthy sign of the times and of the growing power of the women's movement that any such scheme should be under consideration.

In a pamphlet issued by the Women's Co-operative Guild, they demand that all mothers (under the £160 income limit) should receive maternity and pregnancy sickness benefits. It is suggested that a grant equivalent to £7 10s. for every child born should be made by the State.

"Of this," proceeds the pamphlet, "every mother would draw £5. She might be given her choice of 30s. in cash at confinement, or, if she employed the municipal midwife, 20s. in cash and free midwife. In addition, she might choose whether the remaining £3 10s. should be paid to her at 10s. a week, or at 7s. 6d. or 5s. a week. The further sum, averaging £2 10s. per birth, would form a fund from which additional benefit might be given."

"Everything points," said Mrs. Pember Reeves in a recent interview published in the *Daily News*, "to the need of a well-thought-out national scheme for maternity, adequately supported by grants from the State."

The *Daily News*, commenting on the whole matter, says:—"Regulate action on these lines will not only enormously diminish the sum of mental and physical suffering in the land, but will be profitable to the State by the saving of life and the prevention of disease. When, for example, it is realised that nearly three out of every four people who are born blind are blind through a disease which is curable if properly treated, it will be possible to form some idea of the gravity of the matter."

### "BABY WAGE-EARNERS"

What a comment upon our civilisation that in a country like ours a paper like the *Times* should publish a column of ghastly facts under the above title!

Thousands of children, it says, "in Birmingham, Nottingham, and the East End of London are regular wage-earners in many a poverty-stricken family."

The same article says:—

"The chief trades in which the evil of child employment exists are the lace-making industry in Nottingham, hook-and-eye, and button carding in Birmingham, and the making of match-boxes, paper bags, and common artificial flowers in London. In the Birmingham trades some particularly flagrant cases have at various times come to light. A woman and her five children, aged from three to twelve, worked together carding hooks and eyes. The row of hooks was first sewn on, then the mother would pass it over to the tiny child, who hooked the eyes on to it, and the mother then sewed on the eyes. This might seem a sort of kindergarten amusement resembling the occupations of the Montessori babies, but it was proved that the children were actually earning money, and some of them had to be beaten to make them do the work. This is admittedly an extreme case, and happily since this investigation was made new inventions have removed most of this class of work from the homes into the factories."

### A New Evil

But it still goes on, as most social workers know, and as the *Times* article points out, while the wage-earning of little children has been to some extent stopped by the Employment of Children Act, "on the other hand, the employment of 'juveniles' (that is, boys and girls from thirteen to fifteen years old) is probably increasing owing to the Insurance Act, since boys under fourteen and girls under sixteen are exempt from insurance."

If women had the vote, at least they would try not to allow new legislation to pass which should undo the good done by former legislation!

## NATURALISATION

### The Position of British Women Who Marry Foreigners

Replying to Mr. Toulton in the House of Commons on Wednesday last, Mr. Harcourt stated that he was not aware of any recent legislation in Australia which enabled an Australian woman to retain her nationality in the event of her marrying a foreigner.

The investigation which we have pursued on this subject enables us to say that though this statement is technically correct, the facts are not exactly as Mr. Harcourt would have us understand. A few years ago a Naturalization Law was carried in Australia in which the clauses depriving an Australian woman married to a foreigner of her British nationality were deliberately omitted, and it was the avowed intention of the legislators to enable such Australian women thereby to remain British.

After the law had been carried, several authorities gave their opinion that in spite of the omission, the position of the Australian women was regulated by the existing Imperial law on the subject, in view of the fact that no specific alteration was categorically made; other authorities took the contrary view. It was decided in the end to await the introduction of the Imperial Naturalization Law (namely, the one which is at present being put forward), and in the interval not to make any definite claim on behalf of the Australian women to whom we have referred.

## WOMEN'S ACTIVITIES

### A COUNCIL OF WOMEN

#### The Dream of the Anti-Suffragist

It is announced that Mrs. Humphry Ward is taking steps to carry into effect that favourite scheme of the "Antis," a Women's Advisory Council sitting at Westminster for the purpose of being consulted by Members of Parliament on matters concerning legislation for women and children. The names of those associated with Mrs. Ward in her project have not yet been published, with the exception of Mr. W. H. Dickinson, M.P., whose adherence to such a scheme will throw a new light on his Suffragist principles in the eyes of those who have hitherto looked upon him as a genuine Suffragist. For few projects could be more opposed to the whole demand for the equality of men and women than this idea of separating them into two assemblies, the one to possess all the power and the other to use influence without authority. It is to be hoped that no other Suffragist, man or woman, will be misled by such an attempt to sidetrack the woman's movement and to substitute indirect influence, already a sufficiently harmful factor in the relations between the sexes, for the wholesome power of the vote. Meanwhile, what becomes of the "Anti" contention that the woman will neglect her baby if she goes out to vote once in five years?

It is true that we have not yet seen the details of Mrs. Humphry Ward's proposal. Perhaps there will be a crèche attached to the women's House at Westminster!

### A WOMAN'S CHURCH

A Woman's Church, to be administered solely by women, has been inaugurated at Wallasey, Cheshire. Its promoters write to us as follows:—

"For some years past women have more and more felt the very unsatisfactory conditions under which they were allowed by men to do so much of the Church's work with so little voice in the management of the many interests that touch the spiritual welfare of women and children. And seeing the great and glorious strides women have made towards a fuller and freer life, the Church should have been the first to lend a helping hand. Yet what do we see, with but rare exceptions? An entirely unsympathetic attitude on the part of the clergy to things that mean so much to the majority of the women of their congregations. To many, the Church has seemed like a cage, and at last many women have come away in sheer disgust at the attitude of the clergy towards the things which to the women are dearer than life."

Last Sunday saw the inauguration of the new Women's Church in its temporary home at the Lisard Concert Hall, Wallasey. Two services were held, at both of which the Rev. Hatty Baker, of Plymouth, officiated.

#### The Morning Service

The morning service was open to women only, and the subject of Miss Baker's sermon was "The Church of the New Ideal." She said that women wanted a church where the ideals—God's glorious ideals—would not become worn out. They wanted stability of character to be the pillar of the church, for without that pillar no church could stand. They must guard the ideals of their youth, for if they once destroyed those ideals everything was destroyed. Women had great ideals; they were great dreamers, and where they had shaped the will of men there had always been good results. They would be heard, and their visions would be crystallised to a state of realism. They would probably have to endure persecution, laughter, and ridicule; but they must toil along dusty levels, and do away with male bias. They were only at the beginning of a great work, and they were going to win through.

#### The Evening Service

At the evening service, to which men were admitted, the Rev. Hatty Baker preached on "God our Prior Mother," and pleaded for sex-equality in all things. The Church of the past had been almost entirely man's governing, man's ideas, and woman had been content to follow meekly in the way, thus receiving a second-hand conception of God. Women were beginning to be tired of it. Some of them were beginning to wake to their own potentialities, and to recognise that views of God first-hand were offered them. In the past it had been the masculine aspect of God that had been invariably presented, and they wanted the two-sided presentation. The feminine aspect of God was being quickly recognised. It would cost women something to give up the Church of their fathers. Church life was a great feature in the life of women, but they must have something higher than they had had in the past. They wanted to see in the kingdom and in the Church of the new ideal,

women and men side by side, absolute in equality, one the complement of the other. That was neither the time nor place to particularise, but at the present day they knew how they were unequal in the money or wages given for work done, or the law administered upon men or women generally. Let them note the man-governed Church, the man-ruled Press, the man-governed kingdom, and in all those things they would observe an inequality. Man's portrayal of God was good and helpful, but they wanted women's portrayal of God with it.

### THE CHURCH LEAGUE AND MILITANCY

The following statement, which was drawn up by the Executive Committee of the Church League at their meeting on March 16, has been sent to us for publication:—

"The only methods employed by the 'Church League for Women's Suffrage' are those of Prayer and Education. Necessarily, therefore, the League dissociates itself from the distinctive methods, violent or otherwise, of all Suffrage Societies founded upon a political rather than a religious basis; and all such statements to the contrary, as have been sedulously published in the Press and elsewhere, are either founded on a misconception of fact or are intentionally misleading."

### WOMEN AS SOLICITORS

#### Switzerland Leads

Switzerland has given a lead to Great Britain in the matter of women solicitors. Not long ago the cantonal authorities of St. Gall refused to allow Mlle. Bament to practise as a solicitor, although she was fully qualified, and although women barristers already practise in the canton. Mlle. Bament eventually took her case up to the Federal Tribunal, which has just quashed the judgment of the St. Gall authorities. Switzerland now therefore has its woman solicitor, as well as its women doctors, dentists, engineers, chemists, barristers, and one woman architect.

### WOMEN ON STRIKE AT MILLWALL

Miss Mary Macarthur writes from the National Federation of Women Workers at 34, Mecklenburgh Square:—

"During the past week the Isle of Dogs has seen an uprising among working women. One thousand girls and women employed at Morton's Sugar, Confectionery, and Food Preserving Factory at Millwall Docks have ceased work. The trouble arose in the tin-box factory. Hitherto it has been the custom of this firm to employ no one under eighteen years of age, but ten days ago three younger girls were engaged, and were put on press machines, where the tin for boxes is cut. Such machines are dangerous, and even with experienced workers engaged on them accidents occur. We have, in other districts, had compensation cases in which girls working such machines have by some inadvertence lost one or more of their fingers. These little girls were given wages nearly one-third of what the older girls earn, and seeing that the Trade Boards Act is being applied to both the sugar, confectionery and tin box trades, the girls fear that the firm intend to substitute much child labour for adult labour. (The Trade Board's minimum wage is fixed for girls at eighteen, and lesser sums are paid to girls under that age.)

"The girls are totally unorganised, and have applied to Miss Susan Lawrence, a member of the County Council for Poplar, and myself to help them. Mr. Morton, their employer, though a member with ourselves of the Trade Board in the trade, has so far refused even to see us."

Miss Macarthur concludes by mentioning that although a fund of £300 a week at least is necessary to enable the girls to carry on their fight to a successful finish, Miss Susan Lawrence and others have come forward with generous offers of assistance, and it is hoped that if others do the same the strikers will win through.

### MILITANCY FOR A PENNY!

"At no time in the history of England has a constitutional right been conceded or gained as the result of anybody saying 'Please.' The form of grant may have been nominally in response to a 'humble petition,' but it was either bought with supply or extorted by fear."

No! This is not an extract from a Suffragist's speech in the dock at Bow Street. It occurs in the *Times* newspaper, in a review of Sir James H. Ramsay's book, "The Genesis of Lancaster; or, The Three Reigns of Edward II., Edward III., and Richard II."

What a difference does a century or two make to our Anti-Suffrage Press!

### WHAT ABOUT ADAM?

Assuredly we must believe

That man has been eclipsed by madam;

We hear so much of Christmas Eve,

And never a word of Christmas Adam.

—The Champion (Victoria, B.C.)

## Two Charming Model HATS.

THESE exquisite models are in faithful accord with the best styles for Spring Wear.

CHIC MODEL in *lilers* straw, quite a new adaptation of the bandeau hat, trimmed ostrich feathers, tied with narrow corded ribbon.

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59/6

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New Premises, Nos. 41 to 49, Westbourne Grove, have been opened for the Sale of Curtains, Down Quilts, Cretonnes, Bedsteads and Bedding, Ironmongery, Furnishings, etc. These Departments of the business have been re-organized and are under new management. Our stocks are up to date and marked at lowest possible prices.

We shall be pleased to send our Representative to give suggestions for the Spring alterations.

CURTAINS, SUNDOURS,  
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# THE REVOLUTIONARY MOVEMENT

## IN THE COURTS

**Monday, March 23.**—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with obstruction, Miss Petersen, discharged; and Miss Paterson fined 40s. or 14 days. Fine paid anonymously.

**Tuesday, March 24.**—At the Bow Street Police Court, before Mr. Hopkins, charged with obstruction outside Scotland Yard and the offices of the Director of Public Prosecutions, Miss Edith Rushbrooke, Miss Nora Strange, Miss Matilda Cubley, Miss Kate Smith, fined 40s. or 14 days' each; fines not paid.

## CHURCH VESTRY BURNT

The following incident has been attributed in the Press to Suffragists:—

**Sunday, March 22.**—The vestry of Clevedon Parish Church burnt; burning resin and sulphur had been thrown through a broken window. Suffrage messages found in the churchyard.

## NEWS OF PRISONERS

### In Holloway Gaol

Miss Mary Richardson, Miss Kitty Marion, Miss Phyllis Brady, Miss Rachel Peace, Miss Edith Rushbrooke, Miss Nora Strange, Miss Matilda Cubley, and Miss Kate Smith. The first three in this list are, it is believed, being forcibly fed.

### Released

Miss Ella Stevenson, who was re-arrested for a second time on March 17, was released on licence on March 19. Mrs. Crawford, who was sentenced at Glasgow for breaking a window, was also released on March 19, after an eight days' hunger-strike. "Boadicea," Miss Stevens, Miss Cox, Miss Ray, Mrs. Charlton, and Miss Wilson, the six women who broke Mr. McKenna's windows on March 14 and were sentenced to two months' hard labour, were all released on licence on March 18, 19 and 20.

Two women (anonymous) who were sent to prison for four days for posting bills on a Dublin church asking prayers for Mrs. Pankhurst, have been released.

## THE GLASGOW SCANDAL

### Scene in the Council

The eye-witness account published by us a fortnight ago of the arrest of Mrs. Pankhurst at Glasgow will be still fresh in our readers' minds. The raid upon the St. Andrew's Hall on that occasion by a large force of police armed with drawn batons caused great feeling in the town; and on Thursday in last week a stormy scene took place at the meeting of the Glasgow Corporation.

The uproar began over the question as to whether a deputation, which had come to interview the Council on the matter, should be received or not. Mr. Taylor moved that it be received at once.

Mr. Hamilton: I beg to second, because I am convinced that we do not know the moment that 200 policemen might enter this Chamber.

He continued, amid the uproar that ensued: "Was it you (pointing to the Lord Provost) who ordered 200 policemen to enter St. Andrew's Hall with drawn batons?"

At the height of the din the deputation was ushered in to hear the Town Clerk's pronouncement, which was to the effect that the Corporation had no jurisdiction over the police, who were by statute committed to the magistrates of the city. The matter was now under the consideration of the magistrates, who had not yet decided whether a public or private enquiry should take place. The deputation was therefore out of order.

The deputation withdrew, whereupon a fresh uproar broke out. Mr. Dollan shouting at the top of his voice: "I regret very much the lack of courtesy shown to that deputation." The noise continued for a considerable time, one councillor being asked to withdraw the epithet "legal trickster" which he had applied to the Town Clerk.

The Northern Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage (Glasgow Centre) passed a strong resolution at their last monthly meeting, condemning as citizens and ratepayers the action of the police on the occasion of Mrs. Pankhurst's arrest, and asking for definite information on certain points dealing with its legality and the authority for the raid upon the Hall. This resolution was sent to the Town Clerk, who replied that he had forwarded the communication to the Magistrates' Committee then considering the matter.

## QUESTIONS IN THE HOUSE

In reply to Mr. Keir Hardie, the Secretary for Scotland stated in the House of Commons on March 19 that the Glasgow police were a municipal force, and under no obligation to consult him, that every effort was made by them to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst before the meeting, and that the police had authority under the Local Police Acts to enter the hall, which was licensed by the magistrates. He understood that a request for an inquiry had been made to the Glasgow magistrates.

In answer to a further question by Mr.

Keir Hardie, requesting him to preserve the right of free speech by issuing a recommendation to the Glasgow police not to repeat their action, Mr. McKinnon Wood said: I do not think I am called upon to interfere with the police.

## GUARDED GALLERIES

The panic caused by the attack on the Rokeby Venus in the National Gallery has only slightly subsided. Most of the galleries and museums are still closed to the public. The National Gallery was partially re-opened on Wednesday; certain rooms are, however, still closed except to accredited students. Several of the most valuable pictures have been removed into these rooms, and barriers have been erected before others. Sticks, muffs, bags, etc., have to be left at the barriers. The Tate Gallery is also partially open. The Wallace Collection has been partially re-opened, and Stafford House, the new home of the London Museum, is under the most elaborate protection. Detectives from Scotland Yard are there disguised as art connoisseurs, others are stationed at the turnstiles, while there are many uniformed police also on duty. Hampton Court, Kew Palace, and many other places are still closed. Questions have been asked in the House of Commons, and the Prime Minister has the matter under his special consideration.

## SUFFRAGE INTERRUPTIONS

When the King and Queen and their suite were approaching the National Institute of the Blind for its inauguration last week a number of Suffragists attempted to reach the roadway; they were prevented from doing this, but succeeded in strewing the road in front of the carriages with leaflets. The Suffragists were then forced into a side street, where they were kept in check by the police until the conclusion of the ceremony.

On Saturday night women attempted to make speeches during a performance of "The Joy-Ride Lady" at the New Theatre. Leaflets were showered down on the house, and the Suffragists were ejected. Suffrage speeches are made at the Queen's Theatre every Saturday night, but there is no effort is made to eject the speakers.

## VANCOUVER AGAIN!

Vancouver is being roused from end to end on the subject of forcible feeding in English prisons. The Vancouver branch of the Canadian Women's Press Club has just passed a resolution, a copy of which has been sent to Mr. McKenna, protesting in the name of humanity against the continuance of the practice.

## COMMENTS ON MILITANCY

### MR. LLOYD GEORGE

Speaking at Huddersfield last Saturday, Mr. Lloyd George made the following allusion to the Suffragettes:—

I have deprecated as much as any man the breach of the law by people who are fighting for the franchise for women, but I ask—and I ask it in all seriousness—if Mr. Bonar Law ever comes into power—what moral right will he have to punish these people for breaches of the law? (Hear, hear.) After all, they are deprived of the rights of citizenship. (Hear, hear.) But of what right of citizenship does Home Rule deprive any man in Ulster? So far from depriving them of their votes, it gives them a vote for two Parliaments. They can vote for the Home Rule Parliament; they can vote for the Imperial Parliament. They have their rights as citizens of the Empire. As British citizens there is no right they are deprived of. How, then, can he punish people who are fighting for the elementary rights of citizenship? They are on a slippery slope.

## A UNIONIST ALLUSION

Lord Newton, in the course of a speech on Ulster made at Knutsford last Saturday, also used the Suffragettes, this time as a stick with which to beat the Government.

"I have one or two reasons of my own," he said, "which make me think that civil war is improbable, and the first reason I advance is, that I do not consider that the Government possesses sufficient ability to wage civil war or war of any kind. (Laughter.) The Government have been waging war upon Mrs. Pankhurst for a good number of years, and they have not succeeded in defeating her." (Laughter.)

## FORCIBLE FEEDING

Mr. Tighe Hopkins on the Torture  
Mr. Tighe Hopkins, in the course of a review of "Prisons and Prisoners" in the *Daily Chronicle* (from which we quoted recently), makes the following comments on forcible feeding and militancy:—

But it seems idle at this day to pretend that forcible feeding is anything other than a modified form of torture. One need not seek to compare it with the "torture by water" which was common in the old French and English prisons and in the dungeons of the Inquisition; but it is probably very like the early and less excruciating stages of that process. Deliberately to place oneself in circumstances in which the trial of such a process becomes compulsory (with the knowledge that the state of one's heart is not exactly "ripping") seems to me a fair measure of earnestness in a woman's effort for the women's revolution.

Would you, in obedience to orders—and to conscience—go down Piccadilly with your hammer in your pocket—and your heart in your mouth? At the present stage of the revolution there is really nothing more at the back of it than the certainty of prison, the probability of the feeding-tube, and most people's assurance that you would have been better employed in washing your own or someone else's clothes or baby. There are all kinds of experiences in political revolutions, and of these experiences my own unimportant notion is that the suffragettes have not had the roughest.

## A RUSSIAN SUFFRAGETTE

A note of sympathy with English Suffragettes was sounded at St. Petersburg, the other day, when Madame Tyrkova, a well-known novelist and leader of the woman's movement in Russia, lectured on the aims and ideals of Russian women in the present stage of their fight for freedom.

Madame Tyrkova pointed to the English suffrage movement as an illustration of the straits to which the best women were driven in a highly-civilised society when the conception of the essential inferiority of women was embodied in an intricate network of usage and custom. She also pleaded for a more reasonable and tolerant attitude to the English Suffragists, who in Russia were too frequently condemned wholesale.

In fact, she added, the Suffrage agitation was a warning that Russian women must organise and intelligently review their own position.

## THE RIGHT TO BREAK THE LAW

The following amazing passage on the moral right to disobey a bad law—which voteless women have been asserting for eight years—appeared in last Wednesday's *Times*. It occurs in the course of a leading article on the political crisis:—

To represent this as the extinction of government and the end of law and order is nonsense. The Ulstermen announce their intention of refusing to obey a law to which they object. Anybody might suppose, from the cries of horror raised by those responsible for this law and by their supporters, that refusal to obey a law had never been heard of before. There are many laws which are so generally disobeyed that no attempt is made to enforce them. They are called a "dead letter" and are most numerous in the most democratic countries, such as the United States and France. There are many other laws which are very little enforced. It is a great mistake to pass laws which people will not obey. It brings all law into contempt, and, if legislators were prevented from passing such a measure by the announcement that it would be ignored, they would be saved from ignominious blunders and public morality would be strengthened. The notion that a temporary majority can do anything it pleases is a delusion, and so is the notion that a soldier's obedience has no limits. There are limits placed by human nature, and Governments which are so foolish as to overstep them find themselves brought up against forces too strong for the rules which govern ordinary conduct within those limits. As Mr. Balfour said in his fine peroration on Monday, when you get down to the very depths of

men's hearts and beliefs, and attempt to violate them, you create a situation in which ordinary maxims fail. That does not mean that society is coming to an end, but only that the Government has blundered.

## REJECTED ADDRESSES

### Press Boycott Goes On

We hear on all sides of the determined boycott by most of our daily papers of letters written to point out that the way to stop militancy is not by coercion but by a measure of Woman Suffrage, while, as our readers know, their columns are open to any kind of correspondent (generally anonymous) who calls for the lives of the militant women or for their more severe punishment. The following letter, rejected by the *Times*, which has printed several communications in defence of, or condoning, Dr. Mercier's appeal that the militants should be left to die, is typical of the many that are refused publicity:—

[To the Editor of the *Times*.]

Sir,—Most of your readers will agree with Dr. Charles Mercier that it is time the criminal acts of militant suffragists should be stopped, but as there is never an effect without a cause, surely the best method to adopt would be to grant the franchise to women.

When Dr. Mercier advocates treating the woman law-breaker with the utmost severity with a suggestion of "the lash," or "a forfeiture of life," he lays himself and his countrymen open to a charge of gross hypocrisy, whilst hundreds of his male fellow citizens are urging Ulstermen to resist Home Rule "to the death." The fact of the case is, men are endeavouring to set up a false standard of honour and social utility—to say that there should be one law for men and another for women. All our political history proves that to treat a large and intelligent section of the population as political aliens is certain to provoke revolutionary outbursts. Violence begets violence, and the brutality displayed toward women fighting for political liberty has led to retaliation on their part.

During the American war of emancipation the English expressed themselves very strongly against the cruel wrongs inflicted upon the slaves—and at the present time the mouths of our Liberal orators are filled with execrations when speaking of Russian treatment of Jew or Pole—but the utmost barbarities are tolerated as against English women. The horrors of forcible feeding, the torture of the "Cat and Mouse" Act, savage assaults upon women who dare to speak in public, are met with a smile. Coercion and violence will never remove political discontent, and so Dr. Mercier and others will find to their cost. Even should the "death sentence" be inflicted upon a certain number of women, others will arise and take their places. It is vain to hope that coercion will be more effectual in the present than it has been in the past. The principles of political liberty are now deeply rooted in the Englishwoman's heart, and cannot be disturbed by the violence of a "rooter."—Yours faithfully,

ANTONIA MOSER.

## Mrs. Cecil Chapman's Comments

Mrs. Cecil Chapman, speaking on the platform of the New Constitutional Society last Tuesday, was very witty at the expense of the correspondence in the *Times*, and especially of r. Mercier himself, who, she understood, was head of some institution for the feeble-minded, and it was her opinion that he had caught the disease himself.

## Chapter 4

It's Getting Old-fashioned  
to scrub clothes on wash-day.

The slavery, the steam, the sweat, the smell, the worry and most of the work of wash-day are done away with nowadays.

Fels-Naptha alone takes the place of soap, steam and hard rubbing, and soaking and rinsing.

That's all.

And beautiful white linen!

Fels-Naptha 39 Wilson street London E.C.

## CORRESPONDENCE

### MR. WILL CROOKS AND CHILD SLAVERY IN AUSTRALIA

From an Australian.

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—In your issue of November 28 last appears a condensed report of a speech delivered by Mr. Will Crooks at the Plumstead Baths Hall, in which he is reported to have said (in answer to an interjection) that child slavery was worse in Australia than in any other part of the world, and that children of eight years of age were following the plough doing men's work. Now, such a statement must seem absurd to any person having a knowledge of ploughing, and as an old Londoner with twenty-two years' experience of Australian agricultural pursuits I hasten to deny that the farmers of Australia are so callous to the feelings of their children by putting them to work at the plough at such a tender age, also to deny that child slavery (in the term which is generally meant) is rampant in any part of Australia.

With my knowledge of Mr. Will Crooks, and knowing how he has always championed the cause of the children, I feel sure that had any cases of ill-treatment or overworking of children been brought under his personal observation out here, then Will Crooks would not be the man to stand idly by without raising his voice in protest of such deeds. One must give praise where praise is due, and I am sure that you are quite prepared to give your quota of praise to Mr. Crooks for the manner in which he has worked for the betterment of women and children. There is only one conclusion that I can arrive at, and that is that Mr. Crooks has been misreported, because on every occasion where he has spoken he has had nothing but praise for Australia and her people.

Now, in no part of the world do conditions prevail so favourably to the well-being of children as exists in Australia at the present time, and any individual who would lower his own dignity by making a slave of a child would meet with a pretty rough handling at the hands of his fellow-men. I have seen the conditions under which children work and are treated in England, and have worked and suffered under those conditions as a child there, and have seen the same out here, and I must say that the lot of the Australian child is one to be envied.

Trusting you will give this denial the same publicity as you gave Mr. Crooks' statement.—Yours, &c.,

W. T. HARRIS.

Forest Gate, Toowoomba, Queensland, Australia.

[We are delighted to publish our correspondent's letter, which only endorses what was said on the happy condition of Australian children by Miss Hodge in her articles on "The Effect of Woman Suffrage in Australia" (see VOTES FOR WOMEN, January 23 and 30). We would also point out that in our account of Mr. Will Crooks's remarks, we advised that gentleman to look at home before he found fault with Australia in the matter of child labour.—Editors, VOTES FOR WOMEN.]

### DOES THE CHURCH TREAT WOMEN WITH CONTEMPT?

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—Several articles appeared in the daily papers a few weeks ago, concerning the word "obey" used in the marriage service. The opinions of some of the heads of the Church were quoted, among them that of the Bishop of Winchester, who is reported to have said that "If he could see an ideal marriage service, he should desire to see some reference to that leadership of the man in the home."

Perhaps it has not occurred to the Bishop that to omit the word "obey" from the marriage service, while making "some reference to that leadership of the man in the home," is to concede the demand of women in the letter, while refusing it in the spirit. For surely this is the point of the whole matter; women wish for a full recognition of the complete equality of the sexes, and there cannot be equality if at the same time there is to be leadership of the man.

The Church lays much emphasis on the word "love," but love cannot exist coincidentally with a desire to dominate. We so often hear nowadays the male opinion that "the woman's place is in the home," and yet not content with having grasped all the power and authority outside the home, taking woman's just share of the goods of life as well as their own, men wish to extend this rule to the home also and have largely succeeded in doing so, usurping woman's natural rights over their children, and desiring to enslave them completely in all other ways.

This appears to be the clerical idea of the meaning of love for the woman on the man's part; the woman to show her love by submitting to this state, or, in the words of the Rev. Hugh Chapman, "When a woman loves, it involves, of course, a feminine desire to serve." This would be disputed by all educated women; they would say "If this is love, let us have none of it." It is certain that an increasing number of women are refusing to be

married in the Church. Some have entirely left it, solely on account of the Church's attitude towards them, viz., the casting upon them of the stigma of inferiority and servitude.

What is wanted among women is more self-respect. When they fully respect themselves, the world will begin to respect them, and one of the signs of these times will be the refusal of women *en masse* to attend or accept as the authority on religious matters, a Church which treats them with contempt.—Yours, &c.,

BEATRICE GREENVILLE.

30, Mayow Road, Sydenham, S.E.

### ART TREASURES AND CHILDREN'S LIVES

To the Editors of VOTES FOR WOMEN.

Dear Editors,—If only half the money spent in guarding art treasures were devoted to protecting life, perhaps the little girl scout who was violated and cruelly murdered at Woking would be alive now; but the nation thinks more of its art treasures than it does of human life, if that life happens to be one of the "mob," as the capitalist Press speak of those who are poor and not so well equipped for the battle of life as themselves. Yet the life of that poor little girl was quite as valuable to her as the lives of kings or Cabinet Ministers are to them, and, if I may express an opinion, of far more value to us than all the art treasures in the world. But she, poor mite, had no detectives to protect her; she was only one of the "mob," not a blue-blooded king, or a verbose Cabinet Minister, or an inanimate art treasure, so her life didn't matter. Everybody will remember the fuss made to arrest Mrs. Pankhurst, but I defy anyone to say that similar efforts were made to capture the murderer of this little girl. Many a strong man will have a choking feeling in the throat when he reads Miss Richardson's quiet, self-contained speech from the dock and thinks of such a gentle, loving woman lying in a prison cell.—Yours, &c.,

ROBSON PAIGE.

159, Franciscan Road, Tooting Common.

### THE CASE OF MRS. ANNIE WILLIAMS

Dear Editors,—I have to thank you and Miss Beauland for bringing this terribly grave case once more before the public, and can assure your readers that I have done everything towards obtaining this woman her freedom. After I organised the petition I sent it up to the Home Secretary in batches every day, because I think that is the best *modus operandi* under the circumstances. I obtained over 200,000 signatures, but cannot obtain any answer from the Home Secretary. When I wrote to the Governor, the only answer I obtained was an acknowledgment for the same. I have written to the Home Secretary asking him to grant me an interview with Mrs. Williams. I am preparing another petition on her behalf, praying for an early release. Considering that the first petition expense was somewhat heavy on me, I shall be pleased to receive any small sums to help defray expenses. I am appealing on behalf of a woman who is suffering alone and in silence.—Yours, &c.,

H. STANNHORN BENDING.

195, Worthdown Road, Cliftonville, Margate.

### THAT WORD "OBEY"

"How did Jack and Mabel agree over their dispute about the marriage service?"  
"Mabel told Jack that if he would make good on the all-his-worldly-goods-endowment proposition, she would make the promise to obey."—The Champion.

Many happy returns of your linen if marked with  
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## THE MOVEMENT ABROAD

### UNITED STATES

#### The Congressional Amendment

By the narrow majority of one vote the United States Senate threw out the Congressional amendment on Thursday in last week, by which the Constitution of the United States could have been amended with the object of giving votes to women. Thirty-four Senators voted for the amendment and thirty-five against it. To amend the Constitution, however, a two-thirds majority in its favour is required.

Another amendment, to repeal the existing provision enabling negroes to vote and to grant the vote to women, was, adds the New York correspondent of the *Daily Telegraph*, also defeated by 48 votes to 19.

From the American Suffragist papers to hand (published on the eve of the division in the Senate) it would seem that the Congressional Union for Woman Suffrage, which exists to promote the Congressional Amendment, was very much opposed to the vote in the Senate being taken so early in the session. Mrs. Belmont, a member of the Committee of the C.U.W.S., even sent a telegram to Senator Ashurst, who had charge of the Bill, urging him to postpone the division in the interests of the Bill. His reply was to the effect that he could not now control the matter one way or the other, but that he thought in any case the amendment would get more votes now than later in the session. Events have proved that the Congressional Union were right in fearing an adverse vote if it were taken immediately.

The principal reasons given in the *Suffragist* (the organ of the C.U.W.S.) for wishing to postpone the vote in the Senate were as follows:—(1) That the question had not yet been sufficiently debated in the Senate, some of the most powerful adherents of the Bill not having spoken on it. (2) That an adverse vote would ruin the chances of a favourable report from the Judiciary Committee of the Lower House. (3) That in seven States an active suffrage campaign was being carried on which might result next November in these being fully enfranchised. Therefore, the postponement of the decision of the Senate would give these States more time to strengthen the suffrage feeling in them, and so bring more pressure to bear on their respective Senators.

### VICTORY AT MASSACHUSETTS

The suffrage amendment to the constitution has passed the Massachusetts Senate by the large majority of 34 to 2, with one pair which made it 35 to 3.

### SOUTH AFRICA

#### The Hon. Hugh Wyndham's Bill

The Hon. Hugh Wyndham's Woman Suffrage Bill, to which we referred last week, is the same Bill, it appears, which was defeated on its first reading in the South African Parliament, on February 17, by one vote. Owing to the wording of the motion on that occasion, the promoter of the Bill was in order in re-introducing the Bill during the same session of Parliament. This he accordingly did on March 3, and the Bill was read a first time by a majority of 62 votes to 30.

### AUSTRALIA

#### Equal Pay for Equal Work

A debate took place in the State Parliament of Victoria on February 5, when Mr. Elmslie, leader of the Labour Party, moved a resolution in the Education Estimate to indicate that the House favoured equal pay for equal work, irrespective of the sex of teachers. The amendment was negatived by 27 votes to 13, only the Labour members voting for it; the whole of the Liberal Party broke their pledges and voted against it.

#### On the Government Programme

Equal pay for equal work is on the Government (Liberal) programme, and Mr. Hogan, a Labour member, asked what they meant by it.

One of the cobwebby arguments brought against the principle in the debate was that women were not so valuable to the Department as men, because they were liable to leave the profession to get married. The *Woman Voter* points out that this comparison between the length of service of men and women is most misleading. "Men," it says, "leave the service in large numbers to enter other branches of the public service, or to take up other work than teaching, in order to better their financial position." The objector, by the way, admitted that women teachers were as good as the men, and in many cases better.

#### Equal Pay in Perth, W.A.

The *West Australian* reports a mass meeting of clerks on February 8, in which it was asserted that there was no truth in the rumour that the Clerks' Union asked for equal pay for both sexes with the object of driving women out of the profession. It was also pointed out in the same meeting at Perth that there was no fear of women being excluded from clerkships, because as a rule they made better typists than men.

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## ACTRESSES' FRANCHISE LEAGUE

2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.  
President: Lady Forbes-Robertson

The trial performance of three one-act Suffrage plays took place at the Arts Centre on Tuesday. Full particulars will be given next week.

Preparations are in full swing for thirteen performances to be given by the League in the "Woman's Kingdom" Section of the Children's Welfare Exhibition at Olympia. The dates undertaken by the A.F.L. are April 13, 15, 16, 20, 21, 22, 23, 24, 25, 27, 28, 29 and 30.

Madame Lydia Yavorska (Princess Bariatinsky) has kindly consented to give an act from Ibsen's "A Doll's House" on April 24, and other special attractions will be provided each day.

An "At Home" is being given by Miss Winifred Mayo on Friday, March 27, at 93, Oakley Street, Chelsea. Miss Nona Hoffe will be in the Chair, and the speaker will be Miss Barbara Wylie, her subject being "The Ethics of Rebellion." The speaking will begin at 3 o'clock. Tea at 4.30. For invitations apply to the Secretary of the A.F.L.

## UNITED SUFFRAGISTS

3, Adam Street, Strand, London, W.C.

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Colours: Purple, White and Orange  
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Mr. Gerald Gould  
Mr. Henry W. Nevinston

Mrs. H. D. Harben  
Miss Evelyn Sharp  
Mrs. Frederick Whelen  
Mr. John Bourr

Mr. H. J. Gillespie, Hon. Treasurer  
Mrs. Ayrton Gould, Hon. Secretary  
Mr. Charles Gray, Secretary

## Join US (United Suffragists)

**Members' Meeting.**—In spite of wintry weather, the meeting for members and their friends held at the Portman Rooms on Friday evening was well filled and most enthusiastic. Admirable speeches were made by Miss Lena Ashwell, Mr. H. W. Nevinston, Mr. Gerald Gould and Mr. H. J. Gillespie; many new members were made, and a collection of £20 was taken.

**Public Meeting on May 21.**—All arrangements are now made for our first public meeting, which will be held in the large Portman Rooms, Baker Street, W., on Thursday, May 21, at 8 p.m. Miss Lena Ashwell will take the Chair, and five-minute speeches will be made by various people, representative of different branches of public work, who in most cases have not hitherto identified themselves with the Suffrage movement. These will include Professor Caroline Spurgeon (the only woman in England to whom a Chair has been given), Miss Gertrude Peppercorn and Miss Edyth Olive, the well-known pianist and actress, and Bishop Powell, of New Zealand. Mr. John Scurr and Miss Evelyn Sharp will also speak. It is important that this meeting should be well filled, so members are asked to make themselves responsible at once for the sale of a certain number of tickets, which may now be obtained from the Ticket Secretary, 3, Adam Street, Strand; price 2s. 6d. and 1s. numbered and reserved; and 6d. unreserved.

**Election Campaigns.**—The Walworth campaign is going so well that it has been decided to extend our activities to the neighbouring constituency, Southwark West, after Easter.

**Trade Unions.**—We are getting in touch with Trade Unions with the object of sending speakers to their weekly meetings. We shall be glad to hear also of any kind of meeting not held by a Suffrage Society, the promoters of which would like to hear one of our speakers.

**Weekly Members' Meeting.**—After Easter we intend to hold weekly meetings for our members in the U.S. offices.

## TAX RESISTANCE SALE

On March 16 a Tax Resistance Sale took place at Hawkshead, near Ambleside, the register being Mrs. Henry Holiday, who similarly resisted payment of income tax and Inhabited House Duty last year on her country cottage, "Betty Fold." On this occasion, as neither Mrs. nor Miss Holiday were able to go North, they were represented at the sale by Mr. Jonathan Bell, a well-known Liberal. Mr. Bell said he was sure that at the next General Election few candidates would be returned who did not pledge themselves to give the Parliamentary vote to women. A silver teapot on which distrait had been levied was bought by Mr. Bell for three guineas, the sum required.

## THE PROTECTED SEX?

The leader of the Unionist rebels says, "I am a man of peace, but not of peace at any price." Mrs. Pankhurst says, "I am a woman of peace, but not of peace at any price." Sir Edward Carson's militancy is permitted by the British Government. Mrs. Pankhurst's militancy is an excuse for torture by the Government. Which is the "protected sex"?—*The Woman Voter.*

## COMING EVENTS

**"Votes for Women" Fellowship Meetings**  
There will be a Drawing-Room Meeting at 6, Linden Gardens, Notting Hill Gate, on April 1, at 4 p.m. Hostess: Mrs. Hartley Withers. Chair: Mrs. Cobden Hirst. Speakers: Mrs. Eates, Mr. Harold Laski.

## Lancashire Centre

Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancashire.

Weekly meetings will be held every Monday at 8 p.m., at 15, Houghton Street, Southport; admission free. The Lancashire Organiser will be at home to Fellows and friends every Thursday afternoon from 3.30 to 5.30 in Miss Palethorpe's Studio, The Albany, Old Hall Street, Liverpool.

## Other Meetings

The London Society (N.U.W.S.S.) will hold a public reception at the Westminster Palace Hotel to-day (Friday), from 3.30 to 6.15. Speakers: Mrs. Strachey, Mrs. Rackham, and others.

The Forward Cymric Suffrage Union will hold meetings in Hyde Park every Sunday at 4.15 p.m., and at Portobello Road, Notting Hill, every Monday at 8 p.m.

The New Constitutional Society will hold a meeting at the N. C. Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, on March 31, at 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Pertwee and Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

At the International Women's Franchise Club on April 1, at 3.30 p.m., there will be a Club Tea, and Lady St. Davids will lecture.

The Women's Freedom League will hold a meeting at the Caxton Hall on April 1, at 3.30. Speakers: Mrs. Depard and Mrs. E. M. Moore. Chair: Miss Eunice Murray.

There will be a private performance of "Ghosts," organised by Mr. J. T. Grein, at the Court Theatre on Sunday, April 26, at 8 p.m. Apply Ticket Secretary, New Constitutional Society.

## LENTEN SERVICE FOR SUFFRAGISTS

Under the auspices of the Church League for Women's Suffrage a special Lenten Retreat will be held at St. Mary's Church, Charing Cross Road, on Saturday, April 4, from 9 to 7 p.m. It will be conducted by the Rev. H. M. Ward, who will preach on the subject, "The Crown of Womanhood."

There will be a celebration of the Holy Communion on the same day at 8 a.m.

## AN INVITATION FROM AUSTRIA

The President of the Austrian Women's Council asks us to announce that the Council cordially invites all the members of the International Council of Women on their way North from Rome, where the International Congress is to be held next May, to stay in Vienna, both in order to rest after the labour of attending the Congress and also to become acquainted with Austrian feminists and the woman's movement in that country. Madame Hainish, the President, writes from Rochus-gasse 7, Vienna.

## THEOSOPHISTS AND VOTES

To promote the cause of Woman's Suffrage and to further the woman's movement generally are the aims of a League recently formed in the Theosophical Society Order of Service. This new League will co-operate as far as possible with all organisations and individuals working for the same object, and it will maintain an absolutely neutral attitude on the subject of the policy and tactics of existing societies, with whose work it will in no way conflict—its object being to help the movement by the distinctive methods taught by theosophy, particularly by meditation.

The chairman of the New League is Mr. Baillie-Weaver, and Mrs. Cannan and Mrs. Roy Rothwell are respectively hon. treasurer and hon. secretary. Further particulars can be obtained from Miss M. Allwork, assistant hon. sec., 19, Tavistock Square, W.C.

## WOMEN FARMERS IN CANADA

Miss E. Bainbridge Smith, of Haleburton College, Royal Oak, near Victoria, B.C., writes to tell us that there is a good opening for women farmers in Canada, but they must have a little capital and be prepared to work hard. She is the principal of Haleburton College, where women are taught everything to do with farming and domestic work, the care of horses, cows, pigs, ducks, and poultry; milking, butter, cream cheese and Devonshire cream-making. They also learn gardening and fruit-growing, cooking, household management, and bee-keeping. The College is on an island, and is beautifully situated, overlooking the sea, the mountains and the woods; and the climate is excellent for outdoor work.

## "TOWARDS NEW LIBERTY"

"We do not hesitate to admit that this book is published for advertising purposes—we need must parade our theories, and

in especial our theory of woman, her position, her freedom and her development," writes the author of an excellent treatise on woman and her dress, published by Messrs. Marshall and Snelgrove, Ltd. The new woman is everywhere, everyone must give her recognition. This little book, "Towards New Liberty," is really good; it takes a very sane view of reform, and quite appreciates the added charm of women clothed in the rational dress of to-day rather than "with the caprices of a distorted fashion."

## SUFFRAGE DIRECTORY

- Actresses' Franchise League.**  
2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Artists' Suffrage League.**  
253, King's Road, S.W.
- Australian and New Zealand Women Voters' Association.**  
O/o International Women's Franchise Club, 9, Grafton Street, W.
- Catholic Women's Suffrage Society.**  
55, Barnard Street, Oxford Street, W.
- Church League for Women's Suffrage.**  
6, York Buildings, Adelphi, W.C.
- Civil Service Suffrage Society.**  
19, Sothby Road, Highbury.
- Conservative and Unionist Women's Franchise Association.**  
48, Dover Street, W.
- East London Federation of the Suffragettes.**  
321, Roman Road, Bow, E.
- Federated Council of Women's Suffrage Societies.**  
31, Alfred Place, Tottenham Court Road, W.C.
- Forward Cymric Suffrage Union.**  
53, Wandsworth Bridge Road, S.W.
- Free Church League for Women's Suffrage.**  
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane.
- Friends' League for Women's Suffrage.**  
Walden, Gloucester.
- Gymnastic Teachers' Suffrage Society.**  
2, York Place, Oxford Road, Manchester.
- International Suffrage Shop.**  
11, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Woman Suffrage Alliance.**  
7, Adam Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- International Women's Franchise Club.**  
9, Grafton Street, W.
- Irishwomen's Franchise League.**  
Westmoreland Chambers, Westmoreland Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Reform League.**  
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage and Local Government Association.**  
163, Rathgar Road, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Federation.**  
23, South Anne Street, Dublin.
- Irishwomen's Suffrage Society.**  
27, Douglas Place, Belfast.
- Jewish League for Woman Suffrage.**  
32, Hyde Park Gardens, W.
- League of Justice.**  
22, South Molton Street, W.
- Liberal Women's Suffrage Union.**  
Denison House, Vauxhall Bridge, S.W.
- London Graduates' Union for Woman Suffrage.**  
Chester Gate, Ealing.
- Marchers' Qui Vive Corps.**  
Dunston, Peisworth, Sussex.
- Men's Federation for Women's Suffrage.**  
34 and 35, Ludgate Chambers, Ludgate Hill, E.C.
- Men's League for Woman Suffrage.**  
135, St. Stephen's House, Westminster.
- Men's Political Union for Women's Emancipation.**  
13, Buckingham Street, Strand, W.C.
- Men's Society for Women's Rights.**  
65, Avenue Chambers, Southampton Row, W.C.
- Munster Women's Franchise League.**  
83, Grand Parade, Cork.
- National Industrial and Professional Women's Suffrage Society.**  
5, John Dalton Street, Manchester.
- National Political League.**  
Bank Buildings, 14, St. James' Street, S.W.
- National Union of Women's Suffrage Societies.**  
14, Gt. Smith Street, Westminster, S.W.
- New Constitutional Society for Woman Suffrage.**  
8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.
- Northern Men's Federation for Woman's Suffrage.**  
6, Wellington Road, St. John's Wood, N.W.
- Scottish Churches League for Woman Suffrage.**  
11, Howe Street, Edinburgh.
- Scottish Federation for Women's Suffrage.**  
2, St. Andrew Square, Edinburgh.
- Spiritual Militancy League.**  
46, Queen's Road, Baywater, W.
- Suffrage Atelier.**  
Office: 2, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.  
Studio: 6, Stanlake Villas, Shepherd's Bush, W.
- Suffrage Club.**  
3, York Street, St. James', S.W.
- Suffrage First Committee.**  
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.
- Suffragist Churchwomen's Protest Committee.**  
21, Downside Crescent, Hampstead, N.W.
- United Religious Women's Suffrage Societies.**  
13, Bream's Buildings, Chancery Lane, E.C.
- United Suffragists.**  
3, Adam Street, Strand, W.C.
- Votes for Women Fellowship.**  
47, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.  
Lancashire Organiser: Miss Phyllis Lovell, Wingate House, Ainsdale, Lancs.
- Women Sanitary Inspectors' Suffrage Society.**  
43, Sutherland Avenue, W.
- Women's Freedom League.**  
1, Robert Street, Adelphi, W.C.
- Women's Silent Co-operation for Freedom.**  
10, Southfields Road, Eastbourne.
- Women's Social and Political Union.**  
Lincoln's Inn House, Kingsway, W.C.
- Women's Tax Resistance League.**  
10, Talbot House, St. Martin's Lane, W.C.
- Women Teachers' Franchise Union.**  
27, Marcell Road, Lee, S.E.
- Women Writers' Suffrage League.**  
Goschen Buildings, Henrietta Street, W.C.

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Ribbon is much to the front according to the latest fashion indications in Paris. We have had a quantity made into Hat Mounts, Sashes, &c., and priced at figures which give unusual value. Visit the feather neckwear section—dainty styles in every conceivable colour will meet the eye at every turn.



Ribbon 15. Smart Chamois Artist Bow. In chamois, tangerine, sage, and navy colourings. Price ... 1/3d



Ribbon 18. New Spring Hat Mount of Moire ribbon. In black, and all the leading shades. Price ... 3/6

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Lace 44. Charming Fichu (as illustration), in Points and Esprit Net with plaited Frills. Ivory or Paris 4/11



No. 19. The Vogue. Ostrich feather Collar, finished with handsome Tassel ends. In black, white, black and white, grey and white, and all fashionable colours. Price ... 15/9



Ribbon 17. The Latest Hat Mount of Ottoman ribbon. In all the newest colourings. Price ... 3/6



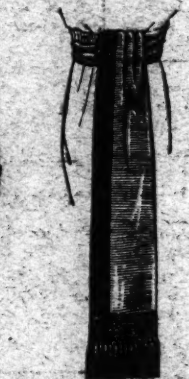
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No. 20. We have an unequalled selection of Ostrich feather Bows from 10 to 100 guineas. The illustration brings a very special line priced at 39/6. In black, white and all fashionable colours.



Ribbon 19. Smart Sash Belt of Ottoman ribbon. In edged black velvet and fringe. In all fashionable colours. Price ... 6/11d



Ribbon 20. Smart Hat Mount of Moire ribbon. In black, and all the newest shades. Price ... 4/6



Ribbon 15. Dainty Satin Knot, in black, purple, cerise, emerald, brown, cinnamon, sage, navy, tangerine. Price ... 1/3d



Ribbon 11. Dainty Chamois Sash, trimmed black velvet and fringe. A choice novelty. Price ... 6/11d



No. 17.—Dainty Ostrich Feather Collar, finished with ribbon rosette. In black, white, black and white, grey and white, natural and white. Prices from ... 2/11 to 21/- Any colour dyed to Special order, from 12/11

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Single insertion, 24 words or less, 2s., 1d. per word for every additional word (four insertions for the price of three).

All advertisements must be prepaid. To ensure insertion in our next issue, all advertisements must be received not later than Tuesday afternoon. Address, the Advertisement Manager, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, E.C.

### NEXT SUNDAY'S SERVICES

**ETHICAL CHURCH**, Queen's Road, W. — March 29, 11, Dr. Stanton Coit. "The Religion of Eugenics"; 7, Mr. H. J. Golding, "Social Idolatry."

**ST. MARY-AT-HILL**.—Church Army Church, Eastcheap. Sundays, 9 and 11, views, orchestra, band. Prebendary Carlile.

### WOMAN SUFFRAGE MEETINGS.

**FORWARD CYMBIC SUFFRAGE UNION MEETINGS**, Hyde Park, every Sunday, 4.15 p.m. Portobello Road, Notting Hill, every Monday, 8 p.m. Speakers: Mrs. Davies, Miss Jones, and others.

**LONDON SOCIETY (N.U.W.S.S.)**.—Public Reception, Westminster Palace Hotel, March 27, Mrs. Oliver Strachey, Mrs. Blackham, Miss Hill, Miss Pittaich Knowles, Mr. John Raphael. 8.30 to 6.15.

**NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY** for WOMAN'S SUFFRAGE. Tuesday, March 31, at 3 p.m. New Constitutional Hall, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge. "Famous Bluestockings." Mrs. Pertwee, Mrs. Cecil Chapman.

**THE WOMEN'S FREEDOM LEAGUE** holds Public Meetings at Carlton Hall every Wednesday afternoon. Speakers, April 1: Mrs. Despard and Mrs. E. M. Moore. "Woman and Freedom." The Chair will be taken at 3.30 by Miss Eunice Murray. Admission Free.

**INTERNATIONAL WOMEN'S FRANCHISE CLUB**, 9, Grafton Street, W. Subscription, one guinea. Wednesday, April 1, 3.30 to 6, Club Tea, Lecture. The Lady St. Davids.

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**ABSOLUTE** Privacy, Quietude, and Retirement, no extras. At the Strand Imperial Hotel, opposite Gaiety Theatre, ladies will find the freshest, warmest, cleanest, quietest quarters, sumptuous bedroom, with bath, and a water fitted; breakfast, bath, attendance, and lights from 6s. 6d.; on pension 8s.; special terms for long stay; finest English provisions. Manageress, 4793 Gerrard.

**BRIGHTON**.—FITCHFIELD HOUSE, 21, Upper Rock Gardens, off Marine Parade. Good table, congenial society. From 25s. week. Easter, 6s. per day. Mrs. Gray, W.S.P.U.

**FOLKESTONE**.—"Trevastra," Bouvier Road West. Board-residence, excellent position, close to sea, Leno, and theatre; separate tables; moderate terms; private apartments if required. — Miss Key (W.S.P.U.).

**LONDON, W.O.**—113, Gower Street. Refined home; breakfast, dinner, and full board Sunday; cubicles, 15s. 8d.; rooms, 19s. 6d. to 25s.; gentlemen, 19s. 6d.; bed and breakfast, 3s.

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**RESIDENTIAL Club for Ladies**.—Cubicles from 18s. 6d. per week with board; rooms 25s.; also by the day. — Mrs. Campbell-Wilkinson, 49, Weymouth Street, Portland Place, London, W.

### TO BE LET OR SOLD.

**LARGE ROOM** to let, suitable for meetings, at Home, Dances, Lectures. Refreshments provided.—Apply Alan's Tea Rooms, 220, Oxford Street.

**NEW CONSTITUTIONAL SOCIETY'S HALL** in Knightsbridge to be let for meetings, &c.—For all particulars, apply Secretary, N.C.S.W.S., 8, Park Mansions Arcade, Knightsbridge.

**SOUTHPORT**.—A single lady, living alone, very much occupied, would like to meet with another lady to share her house. Good residential locality. — Box 524, Votes for Women, 4-7, Red Lion Court, Fleet Street, London, E.C.

**SWITZERLAND**.—Furnished apartment (6 rooms); also small cottage, four rooms; also, for summer, 18th century chateau, modern conveniences, magnificent views, large garden, fruit; servants left if desired; excellent educational advantages. — Particulars, Chaplain, 14, Park Lane, Croydon.

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**ARE YOU WANTING SCHOOL OR HOME**, English, Continental, boys' girls? Mrs. Hooper, 13, Regent Street, London, herself a mother, advises parents free of charge (30 years' experience). State pupils' ages, fees limit, district preferred. Governesses recommended.

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**LINDUM HOUSE, BEXHILL-ON-SEA**.—Boarding School for Girls on Progressive Thought lines. Principal, Miss Richardson, B.A. The school stands in its own grounds, where tennis, hockey, and cricket are played. Home care. Thorough tuition. Entire charge of children coming from abroad.

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(Classified Advertisements continued on page 405)